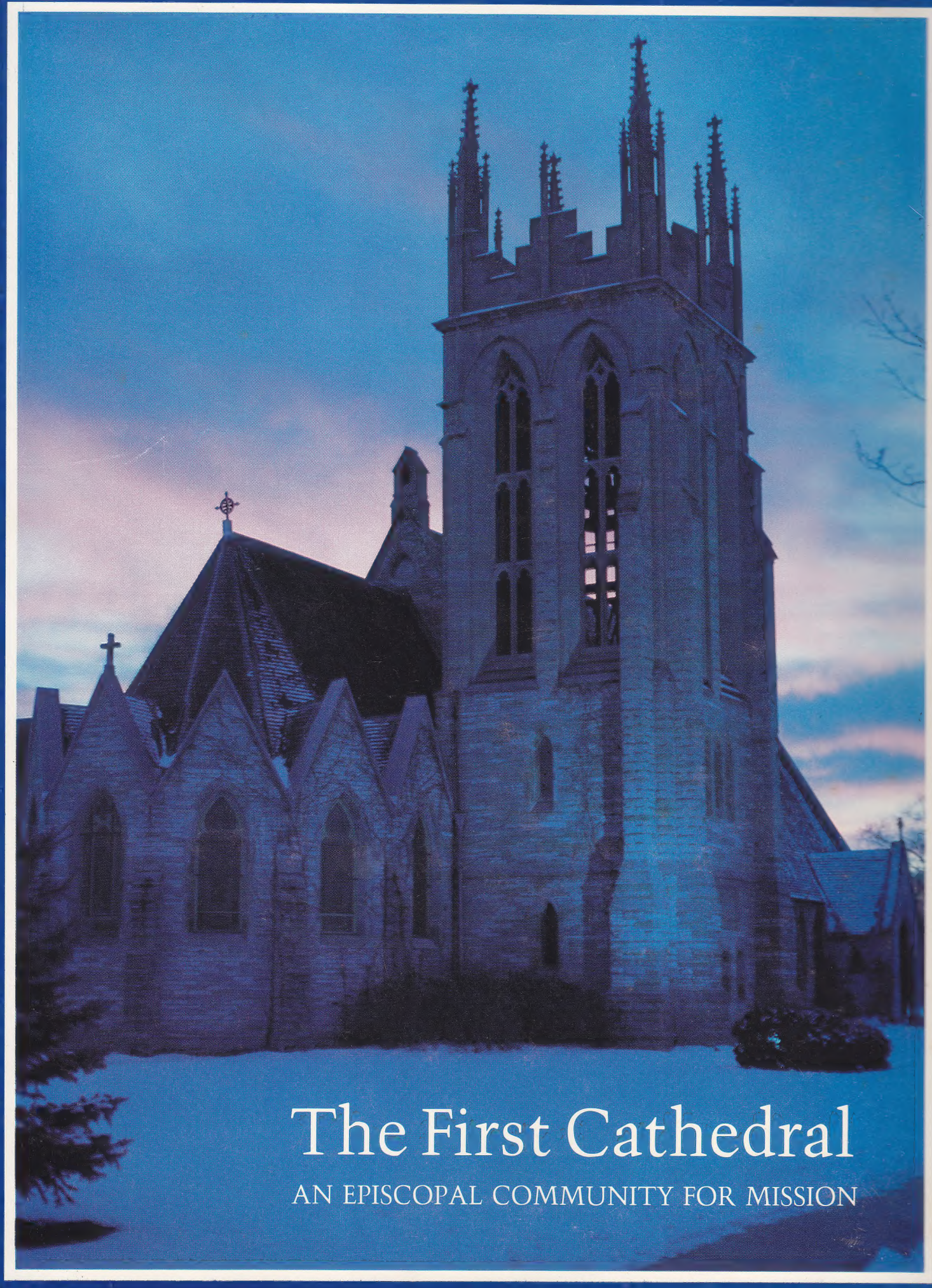

The First Cathedral

AN EPISCOPAL COMMUNITY FOR MISSION

The First Cathedral

AN EPISCOPAL COMMUNITY FOR MISSION

BY

BENJAMIN IVES SCOTT

&

ROBERT NESLUND

The Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour
Faribault, Minnesota
1987

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The logotype used at the end of each chapter was designed by Charles Lewis Slattery in 1905 and first incorporated into the east door of Gilbert Hall. It was used as an emblem on many Cathedral publications printed in the early decades of this century.

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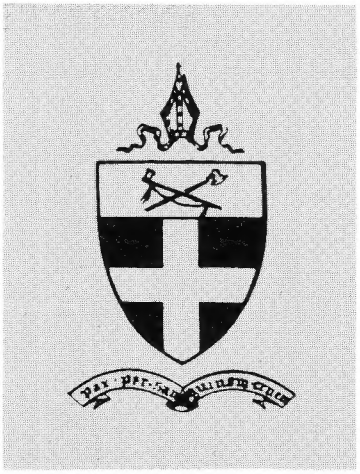
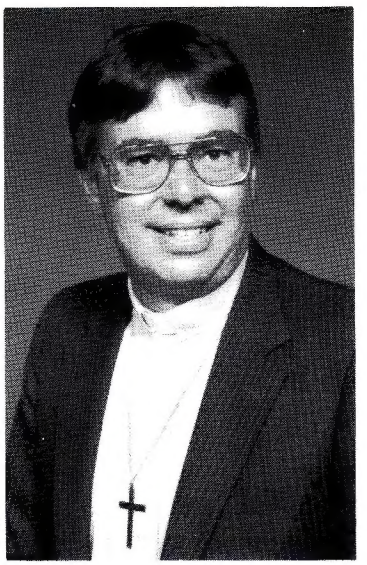


Introduction



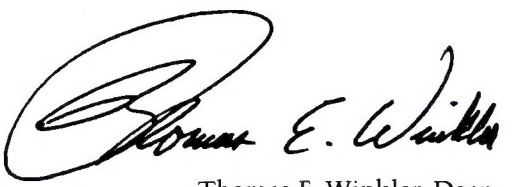
Dean Winkler

Not unusually, it all began on the Mississippi River. While camping on a sandbank a few years ago with my good friends Ben and Sally Scott, we got to "talking church," as usual, and the subject of the 125th anniversary of the founding of the Faribault cathedral came up. I knew that Fr. Scott, when he was a student at Nashotah House Seminary, had written a paper on Dr. James Lloyd Breck and had a strong interest in the history and present mission of the cathedral. Ben was also exploring the possibility of doing more writing, perhaps even as a new career. Very little existed about the history of the Faribault cathedral and I couldn't think of a better way to celebrate our 125th as well as give an informational gift to future generations, than to produce a good book on the subject. Ben was planning for a sabbatical leave and expressed a strong interest in researching and writing the main thesis of the work — that the Faribault cathedral was an "Episcopal community for mission."

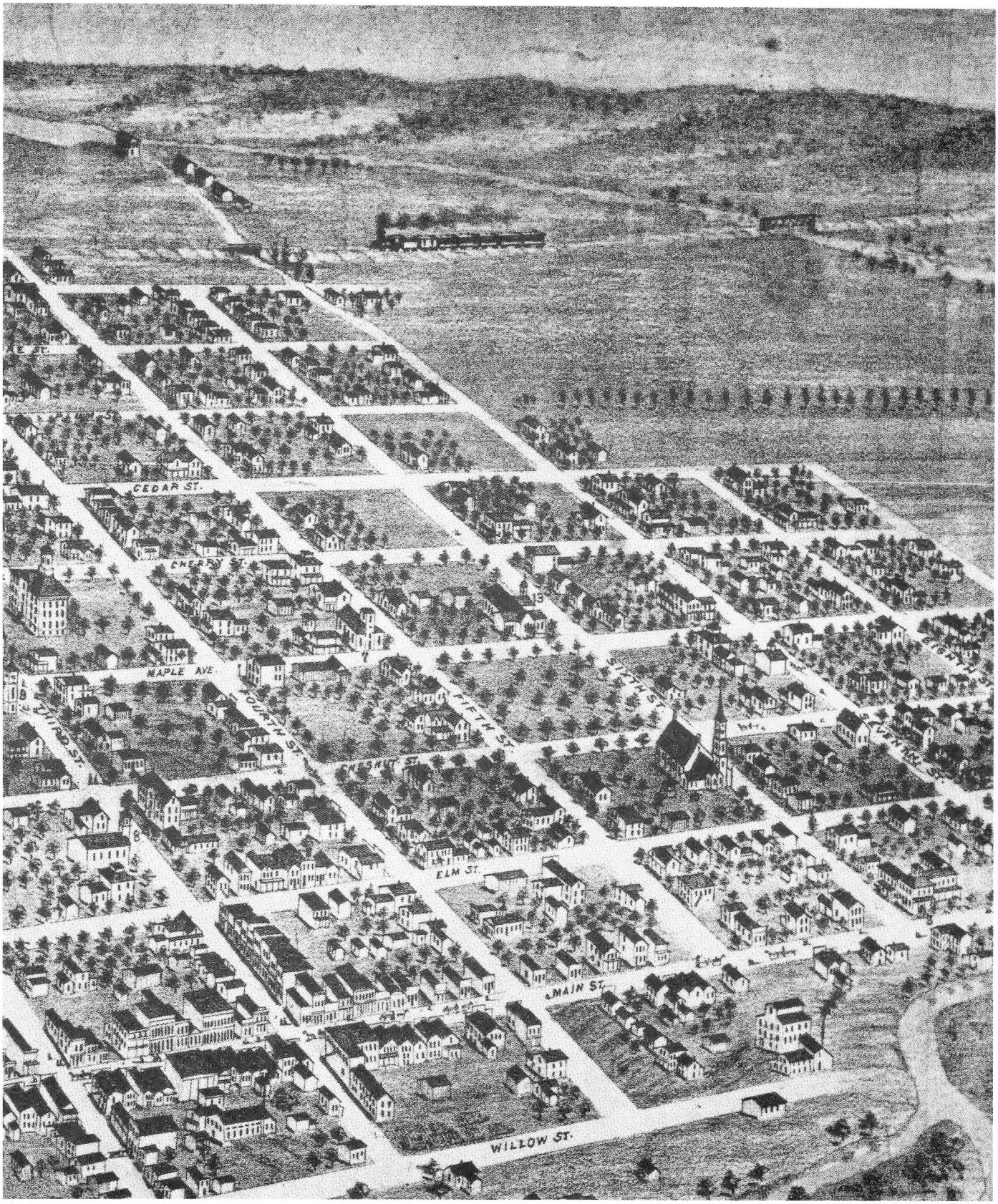
We dreamed big that hot Summer afternoon on a Mississippi sandbank — of a coffee table sized book with lots of full color photographs, a scholarly text on the cathedral's central mission as well as a selection of all the many amusing anecdotes that any human institution collects over time. (This seems to be especially true of the institution of the Church!) I brought up the idea with our cathedral chapter and they dared to take $2,000 out of capital to help fund Fr. Scott's sabbatical. Bob Neslund accepted my invitation to be the editor of the book and to work on the anecdotes. Isabel Beckley, Jane Sears and Babeanne Andrews went gladly to work on gathering anecdotes, historical photographs and rummaging around the cathedral's various drawers, boxes and shelves for the original stuff out of which histories are made. Lance Holthusen of St. Paul was an inspiration on more than one occasion and came up with the financial data that demonstrated to us neophytes that such a project might be accomplished. Bishop Anderson, who greatly loves this cathedral and the history of the diocese, gave us his enthusiastic support. Carl Bartness of our local Modern Printers, bent over backwards to accommodate our scarcity of funds and our repeatedly delayed schedules. Cheryl Younger took pictures, even in the rain, and climbed to the very top of the cathedral's tower to get shots of things that ordinary mortals would otherwise never have the chance to see. She also gave excellent expert help in putting the format of the book together. Along the way, Anne Jones and Paul Onkka, the cathedral's Sr. Warden, helped plan a strategy for funding. The cathedral chapter asked probing questions at several meetings, but unfailingly dared to meet all our financial requests, even to the extent of voting $15,000 to guarantee the production of the book. Janet Boese did many hours of typing, not only of the original text, but with the many revisions as well.

The final product is most certainly the result of the diligent collaboration of both Ben Scott and Bob Neslund. Both have put far more time and energy into the project than could reasonably have been expected. Both wrote and both did many hours of research. Both love the cathedral.

Finally, none of this would have been possible if it hadn't been for the interest of members of the cathedral. Those who live in Faribault and former members who live all over the country sent in recollections and consented to be interviewed. The result, I hope you will agree, is a fitting record of the cathedral's surprisingly important past, as well as an inspiration to all of us who are involved in the changed and changing circumstances of its present and future mission.



Thomas E. Winkler, Dean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Explanations & Acknowledgments

A book like this could have been written a number of ways. Our approach has been eclectic. It is a "popular" book, intended not for experts in ecclesiastical history but simply for anybody interested in the story of the Faribault Cathedral — in the first instance, for members and friends of the Parish. We do not claim that it is a scholarly book — neither of us is a professional historian or, for that matter, a professional writer. We do think, however, that our research — given the limited time available — has been quite thorough. The story is sometimes complicated — partly because "the Cathedral" involved several entities, partly because the founders didn't always explain exactly what they had in mind. Ultimately our readers will have to judge the degree of our success.

Perhaps our title requires a comment. The idea came from a book about Washington Cathedral by Ty Harrington entitled *The Last Cathedral* (Prentice-Hall, 1979). Since the time of Bishop Whipple, the Faribault Cathedral has been known as "the first cathedral in the American Church." (We examine the evidence for and against that claim in Chapter III.) However, the second half of the title is really more important, for it summarizes (in our words) what we think this cathedral was meant to be. Near the end of the book, we comment specifically on *Episcopal, community,* and *mission.*

Chronology presented a problem because several balls had to be juggled: the Seabury Mission, the Parish, the Cathedral, various related schools, the town of Faribault, the Diocese — not to mention numerous individuals. We could have written a series of discrete essays, treating each topic all by itself, but that would have involved considerable repetition. Anyway, that approach would have been misleading: the various entities were constantly (or at least frequently) interacting. The consequence of our decision is that there are a lot of flashbacks — sometimes as much as forty years. We have provided sub-heads to help the reader keep track. And to simplify the story we have created two long appendices. In them we describe the Cathedral and the Guild House as buildings and then examine chronologically the ways they have been used. Activities like the Guild of the Good Shepherd, the various choirs, and the Sunday School are treated largely in these two sections.

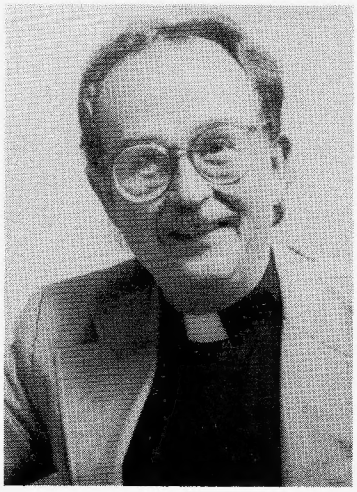
Anecdotes and other boxed features are included to add spice and character. Perhaps this book could have been written without them, but they are not just diverting "fillers": we believe that they convey a palpable sense of "what it was really like." In doing this book, we have gotten the clear impression that religion in Faribault has not been devoid of fun! We are grateful to many contributors. Please note that much of the anecdotal material has been incorporated into the main body of the text.

Some of the word-choices that we have employed need to be explained:

1. *"The Church."* When we use this term, we almost always refer to the Episcopal Church. In doing so, we do not want to seem *or be* chauvinistic. We're reminded of the Rev. Mr. Thwackum, the pompous 18th Century parson so admirably satirized in Fielding's *Tom Jones.* In an argument with Mr. Square, he defines *religion,* which he believes is necessary for virtue:

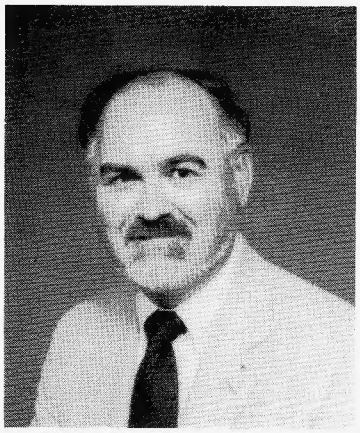
When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion: and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion; and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England ...

What could be simpler or more logical? But a lot, thank God (and God help us), has happened since the days of Thwackum! We now live in a pluralistic society, for one thing — and it is rather obvious that Episcopalians can claim no monopoly on truth, moral goodness, missionary fervor, piety, broad-mindedness, or "class." Nevertheless, in our use of "the Church" we follow the typical usage of Breck, Whipple, Tanner, and their contemporaries. Occasionally we employ the fuller, traditional, and more cumbersome name — the Protestant Episcopal Church — in direct quotations and a few other contexts that seem to require it. (Breck reportedly "hated" the official name and would have rejoiced that *Protestant,* though never dropped, has for some years been optional.)



The Rev. Benjamin Ives Scott

Opposite page: *Detail from a map of Faribault published in 1869, the year that the Cathedral was consecrated. The upper stages of the tower, as shown, may represent the original design, which was to have had a spire reaching to 165 feet.*



Robert Neslund

2. *"Mr."* In many parts of the Church, and especially the Midwest, it has become almost *de rigueur* to address priests as "Father." Even the recent advent of women priests — who, so far as is known, are seldom called "Mother" — has not altered the situation. However, with few exceptions, the use of "Father" in Minnesota has developed only within the past generation or two, and it was seldom if ever used at the Cathedral until the arrival of the incumbent Dean, Fr. Winkler. We know of no instance when James Lloyd Breck — who was probably the "highest" of the early Minnesota clergy — was called anything other than "Mr." or "Dr." We have seen no evidence that he *wanted* to be called "Father." Ezekiel Gear, for some reason, was almost always called "Father Gear," even by Bishop Whipple — possibly because he was the first priest of the Church in the Territory. (There were two or three others: S.P. Chandler of Belle Creek, a former Methodist minister, is mentioned in this book.) At the Cathedral, even after the term "Dean" was introduced in 1892 by Bishop Whipple, it did not become commonplace to speak of *"Dean* So-and-so." In the Vestry minutes, however, the improper form "Rev. Slattery" is often corrected to read *"Mr.* Slattery." (All the efforts of Episcopal clergy to eradicate such usage have failed, for most Protestants do call their pastors "Rev. Smith" or "the Rev. Smith." "Mr." just isn't *good* enough!) Accordingly, we use *Mr.* and (later) *Dean.* We have not revised history to suit current preferences or a party line.

3. *"Dakota"* and *"Ojibwa."* Now we shall appear to contradict our very last statement! There is no doubt that "Sioux" and "Chippewa" are deeply ingrained in Minnesota history. Indians themselves, however, appear to have used the terms "Dakota" and "Ojibwa" fairly consistently even after the arrival of the white man — and they are very careful to use those words today. (*Sioux*, which many Indians say really means "snake", was a term of abuse used by the enemies of the Dakota; *Dakota*, on the other hand, means "friendly." And *Chippewa*, strange as it may seem, is a corruption of *Ojibwa.*) Some may feel that we exaggerate the problem. Didn't Shakespeare write, "What's in a name? A rose by any other name would smell as sweet"? We reply that Indian people are very sensitive about this issue and that, as brothers and sisters *in Christ*, we feel bound to honor their feelings. We cannot imagine that Bishop Whipple, if he were alive today, would use "Sioux." Racism will not vanish merely because different names are used, but such a change may represent a positive first step. Language affects *us* far more than we realize. But there is also the historical problem: should we (as the Minnesota State Historical Society has occasionally done in its reprints) "correct" old documents, substituting more acceptable terms? For better or worse, we have decided not to do so. It would be like expurgating *nigger* from *Huckleberry Finn.* We have, by the same logic, consistently preferred "Dakota Conflict" to "Sioux Uprising," except in direct quotations, and we are glad to see that this usage seems to be catching on, particularly in the news media. Questions of style are complex, and not all will approve our decisions. We did seek the advice of one Indian priest, the Rev. Philip Allen, who read parts of the manuscript and offered suggestions. We are grateful for his help. But in the end, what we have written *we* have written. We take full responsibility.

We are indebted to a great many people in a great many ways, and it is impossible to name them all here.

Members, former members, and friends of the Cathedral offered us anecdotes, pictures, and "leads" to follow up on. The Very Rev. Thomas Winkler, Dean, offered friendship and encouragement. The Rev. Donald and Helen Wafler and Paul and Marcia Onkka helped with pictures. Joyce Ross, the Dean's secretary, photocopied materials and opened files and the safe for us repeatedly. The book committee — Isabel Beckley, Jane Sears, and the late Babeanne Andrews — wrote letters, collected anecdotes, sorted through pictures, offered good advice, and arranged for a full day of interviews. We thank those who shared with candor their Cathedral experiences. Lance

Holthusen made several trips from St. Paul and helped us to get organized. Paul Onkka and Anne Jones worked on finances and advertising. Dorothy Meyer made a generous contribution when we needed "seed money." By its financial backing, the Cathedral Chapter provided far more than moral support. We are more grateful than we can say.

Betty Oehler of St. Paul (Bishop Whipple's great grand-daughter), offered us hospitality, conversation, pictures, and encouragement. Philip S. Breck of Oakland, Calif., and George Edensword-Breck of Seattle (great grandson and great-great grandson, respectively, of James Lloyd Breck), sent materials on the Renwick-Mills connection and tried (unsuccessfully) to find a picture of Jane Maria Breck. Selma Rattner of Kings Point, N.Y., an expert on Renwick, sent copies of articles on his architectural career and answered a number of questions.

The Rt. Rev. Robert M. Anderson, Bishop of Minnesota, offered encouragement, and members of his staff — particularly Mary Jo Andrews and Mary Hassell — answered questions and dug out information from Diocesan files. *Soundings*, the Diocesan magazine, gave us lots of publicity.

Three clergymen of the Diocese were very helpful: the Rev. Edward L. Sheppard of Redwood Falls (author of the sequel to Tanner's pioneer history of the Church in Minnesota) and the Rev. Michael Forbes of Rochester answered numerous questions. The Rev. George Gilbert of Lake City talked at length about the last days of Seabury before the merger and move to Evanston.

Three faculty members of Shattuck-St. Mary's made our work much easier. Millie Marple, archivist, was a goldmine of information about the various schools at-one-time-or-other related to the Cathedral, and she provided pictures, articles, books, diaries, and always dependable advice. Richard J. Kettering II, the school librarian, not only lent us material but provided us a comfortable place to work in. And Orwin Rustad, Faribault native and biologist-naturalist at the school, shared lore about the Wahpekute and the early settlers.

Several other Faribault institutions and residents also contributed to the book. Susan McKenna, director of the Rice County Historical Society, provided copies of several pictures in the museum collection for us to use. Marlys Swalboski and her whole staff at the Buckham Memorial Library helped in many ways. The collection of early newspapers on microfilm was invaluable to us, and the Buckham people were endlessly patient with our requests to use the microfilm room. (Incidentally, the task was far easier because WPA workers, supervised by Anna Theopold in the '30s, indexed Faribault papers up to about 1920 — even including articles five or six lines in length! Much of our "local color" came from pieces no longer than that.) The *Faribault Daily News* allowed us to use several of its pictures free of charge. Lilian Teisberg, who is writing a history of First English Lutheran Church, gave us important information on the activities of the Rev. Eric Peterson.

The librarians at Carleton and St. Olaf in Northfield were probably unaware of our project, but books from both libraries proved useful to us.

The Minnesota State Historical Society and its Research Center were both helpful in providing copies of articles, letters and other documents, and pictures for our use. Staff members were unfailingly knowledgeable, efficient, and courteous.

The Minnesota Science Museum allowed us to reproduce several photographs of Indian artifacts in the Bishop Whipple collection; these pictures first appeared in the *Straight Tongue* exhibit catalog in 1980. We are grateful to Lou Casagrande for his assistance.

A number of Church institutions outside of Minnesota came to our aid. Nashotah House offered both hospitality and unrestricted use of its library. Three publications provided materials: *The Episcopalian* (Philadelphia), *The Living Church* (Milwaukee), and *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Austin, Tex.) One of

Cheryl Younger, photographer and designer

To Bob Neslund
We have the article you requested from the 1909 *Spirit of Missions*. Please send your address.
—*The Episcopalian*

Above: *Excerpt from* The Episcopalian, *which helped to spread the word about this book.*

these — *The Episcopalian* — even offered us some unsolicited national exposure, which resulted in several letters. The Archives of the Church (also in Austin) sent us an article by Evangeline Whipple, as well as information on the Rev. David Sanford and the Very Rev. Vesper O. Ward. (Sanford, the first Rector of the Parish of the Good Shepherd, Faribault, was particularly elusive. We thought we were on his trail and wrote to the Diocese of Oklahoma: a missionary named David Sanford had indeed done heroic work in Indian Country there — but we found out later that he was the *wrong* Sanford! Calvary Church, Rochester, Minn., as well as the Diocese of Connecticut and St. James', Winsted, Conn., were helpful in providing basic information on the right Sanford; none, alas, could find a picture.)

Several cathedrals and parish churches sent booklets, brochures, etc.: the Episcopal cathedrals of Davenport, Honolulu, Milwaukee, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.; and churches in Maitland, Fla., and Benicia, Calif. Two even sent books: All Saints' Cathedral, Albany, and Calvary Church, Rochester, Minn.

Janet Boese of Rochester typed (and retyped) much of the manuscript and prepared the index. We often — quite literally — cut and pasted, and she managed to make good sense of it.

Cheryl Younger of St. Paul took many of the photographs, and designed and laid out the book. Obviously, appearance and readability are closely related, and we believe that her work enhances the written content of the book considerably.

Modern Printers of Faribault produced the book. We can hardly overstate how professional, gracious, and forbearing Carl and Bev Bartness and everyone else on their staff have been. (We wish that we could mention the type-setters and other individuals by name, but they prefer to remain anonymous.) We are proud to say that such fine work is available right in Faribault — and at very reasonable cost.

So we are indebted to a great many people. We hope that we have left no one out. We hope that we have done some justice to the great work of Breck and Whipple and the others who were — and built — "the First Cathedral."

Benjamin Ives Scott
Robert Neslund

Chapter I

JAMES LLOYD BRECK: FARIBAULT IS SELECTED AS THE SITE FOR AN ASSOCIATE MISSION

Luke Hulett rose early and walked to a hilltop to look over the area where they had camped. Below him two streams splashed together. The sun rose clear, and the air was balmy on May 15, 1853. Six men had struggled through sloughs, rain, and mud since crossing the Mississippi at St. Paul. They had pulled their wagon along the trail to the confluence of the Straight and the Cannon rivers. The first night they had camped in a grove fifteen miles from St. Paul, and a northeast storm had drenched them. The second day the trail was flooded at a marsh. The men had unloaded the wagons and carried the goods, leading the horses to the woods on the other side. It was dark when they came to the rivers. After spancling the horses and setting them to feed, they had eaten and turned in for the night.

Luke had climbed a hill to the southwest of the Cannon. Down near the river were dwellings of the Wahpekute band of the Dakota, 60 to 100 wigwams. Facing north he could see the trading post and farm of Alexander Faribault. Faribault had come with his family in February to make a home where he had been trading for furs with the Wahpekute since 1826. In the intervening years, several French Canadian families and young bachelors had opened farm lands for Alexander Faribault and brought in livestock for the farm. The Wahpekute and their French-speaking neighbors had been living and trading peacefully at this location at the edge of the "Big Woods."

Near the trading post were two cabins belonging to Peter Bush and his wife. He had come to be the blacksmith at the settlement. Another cabin was occupied by Norbert Paquin. Beyond his sight farther along the Straight River was the cabin of E.J. Crump and his wife, and two men named Reverend Standish and John Gelker who had come under the direction of the "Massachusetts Colony". On the Cannon bottom above the settlement was the cabin of James Wells and his family.[1]

THE NATIVE PEOPLE

The Wahpekute, smallest band of the Santee Dakota Indians,[2] had only four or five settlements in south-central Minnesota. Their territory ranged from as far west as the Blue Earth valley to the upper Cannon river. In the early 1850s there were perhaps 600 Wahpekute in the vicinity surrounding Alexander Faribault's trading post. The area offered a variety of food — berries, roots, fish, prairie chickens, ducks, muskrat, deer, and (infrequently) buffalo.[3] Some corn was raised, and the sugarbush on the bluff east of the Straight provided syrup.

The local settlement was at the southeast corner of the "Big Woods," a dense deciduous forest running approximately from present-day Faribault north to Minneapolis, northwest to St. Cloud, south to Mankato. (Today about all that survives is a two-section stand of oak, maple, and other hardwoods in Wheeling Township — most of it contained in Nerstrand Woods State Park, ten miles northeast of Faribault.) *Wahpakute* itself meant "Leaf-Shooters." Unlike most of the Dakota, who were plains Indians, the Wahpekute lived along the edge of the forest and hunted among the trees. As their name implies, they were renowned marksmen. With the other Santee they shared a common, spoken language.

The men of the band hunted, negotiated with the trading post and fought in occasional battles; they wore breechcloths, long deer-skin leggings and moccasins; in winter they added blankets, buffalo robes, and heavy gloves. Feathers in their headbands indicated special acts of bravery. The women led a harder life — gathering food, building fires, fishing, cooking, sewing, harvesting, erecting the hide-covered teepees in winter and the bark-covered wigwams in summer. They wore long skirts and coats of cloth decorated with beads and embroidery.

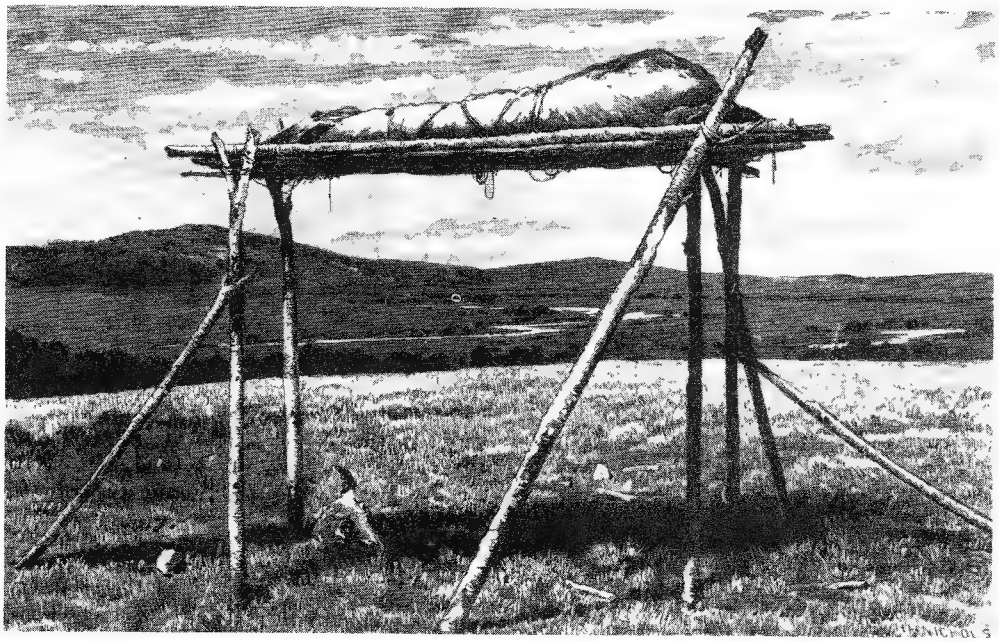
Like other Dakota Indians, the Wahpekute were animists: that is, they believed lakes, rivers, trees, animals — indeed all of nature — to be full of spirit. Thus they felt at one with the earth and revered it. Each young man who aspired to be a warrior and

---

[1] The opening section is based on reminiscences of Luke Hulett published in the *Faribault Republican* Apr. 17 and May 15, 1872: "A Half Century on the Frontier" ran in ten installments between Feb. 14 and Aug. 7.

[2] The Santee were comprised of the Mdewakanton along the Mississippi, Wahpeton west central along the upper Minnesota River, Sisseton along the Red River of the North, and the Wahpekute. *Wahpekute* was spelled various ways in the early days, but it clearly had four syllables.

[3] The last buffalo around Faribault was reportedly shot at Wells Lake in 1855.



From engraving by H.H. Nichols of Dakota scaffold burial. Reproduced with permission from Minnesota State Historical Society.

hunter would undertake a quest to discover what animal would be his protector, and having found it in a vision, would never thereafter kill that animal — for to do so would be to kill something of himself.

The Wahpekute enjoyed a number of games, but the most spectacular must have been their form of lacrosse. Sometimes one village would play another and, if contemporary reports are reliable, up to 200 players on a side would join the fray! Luke Hulett was thrilled by one such contest.

But what most impressed — and disconcerted — the white settlers was the way the Wahpekute treated their dead. A body wrapped in deer-skin would be placed on a platform ten or twelve feet above the ground, or sometimes in a tree. One description of conditions in 1853 none too subtly reveals the typical white attitude:

The stone quarry hill was an Indian burial ground, if such a name can be given to a place where the cadavers are hung up on trees, after being tied in blankets. There were twenty to thirty of these repulsive objects swaying in the breeze over there at the time.[4]

Apparently the writer — a Protestant minister and prominent early historian — neither understood nor had any appreciation for the Indians' belief that the wind would aid the soul's return to nature. After a year or so, the remains, together with hatchets, trinkets, and other artifacts, were placed in shallow graves. The local Wahpekute had several cemeteries, two of which were near sites that would be important to the Episcopal Church in Faribault — one near the original Parish cemetery and the other just west of the Seabury campus.[5]

By the early 1850s the area had been largely depleted of fur-bearing animals, and even Alexander Faribault would soon turn to farming and milling. The Wahpekute population declined as white settlers moved in, though for a number of years Indians continued to live in the northwestern section that would soon be called "Frenchtown." In the early '60s most of the remaining Wahpekute were forced onto reservations, and soon, under such conditions, began to lose what was distinctive in their culture. Yet during the 35 or so years when Indians and white settlers lived around Mr. Faribault's trading post, relations seem to have been extraordinarily friendly. Luke Hulett reported only one untoward incident — when one of his oxen was killed for eating an Indian woman's corn; but, as it happened, the animal was shot not by a Wahpekute but by a visitor from Red Dog's (Mdewakanton) band. After going to the Governor, Hulett was compensated $125 — which he thought was a pretty high price for beef. He claimed that he never had to lock his cabin, and that he never missed a pin's worth. Some settlers grew especially wary after the Indians were introduced to whiskey, but Hulett wrote, "Neither can I myself, nor can a member of my numerous family, recall a single instance

[4] Edward Neil *History of Rice County*... Minneapolis, Minnesota Historical Co. 1882, p. 27. Similar feelings, though in different words, appear in newspaper accounts and later reminiscences.

[5] The numerous mounds near Northfield and those on the south side of Cannon Lake are believed to have been made by some earlier culture.

where a member of the [Wahpekute] ... treated me or them, in word or deed, or look, with even an approach to rudeness ..."[6]

Luke Hulett Attends an Indian Ceremony

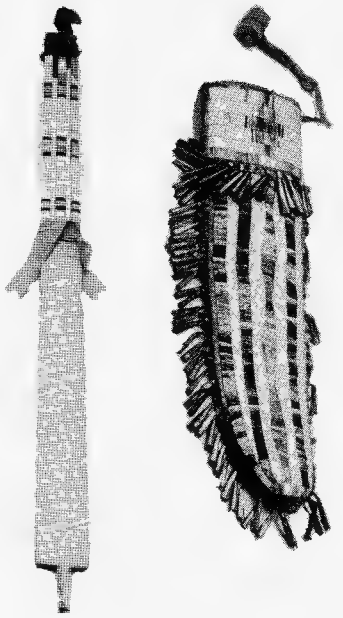
"The first meeting for religious worship held after my settlement here was in a grove on my farm, just north of the bridge, near where Solomon Atherton now lives. This was April, 1854, and the assembly was composed of individuals of the [Wahpekute] Band of the Sioux. The service and ceremony were conducted by an itinerary preacher from the Red Wing Band, and if the said ceremonies were not decidedly solemn and impressive, they were conducted with much decorum and good order. The idea struck me forcibly that mankind were, everywhere and under all conditions, very much alike, and that man, whether by evolution from lower animal organizations, or by special creation, was a decidedly religious animal."

—*Faribault Republican*, June 12, 1872, p. 1.

FARIBAULT BECOMES A TOWN

Luke Hulett decided to stake a claim at this community. One of the men who camped with him, Mark Wells, chose to join him. The others returned to St. Paul. Levi Nutting would come back the following year.

Luke went to St. Paul to gather the necessities for constructing a cabin. He brought back his wife and their six young girls, "which was deemed a hazardous thing." Soon after Luke's return to the settlement, a meeting of the inhabitants was called at the *Hotel de Bush*. They concurred: the town should be named in honor of Alexander Faribault. A petition for a post office was drawn up and given to Gen. H.H. Sibley at Fort Snelling. Mr. Faribault was named postmaster — not that there would be much mail except the *New York Tribune*, which Luke read so assiduously. Two years later, at the end of 1855, the population was said to be over 1,500, the majority from New England. Numerous "additions" to the original town plat were being developed by enterprising men like Gen. James Shields ("hero of two wars and senator from three states").[7] Land values soared: in 1856 government land sold for 31½¢ per acre — the next year town lots cost between $500 and $3,000. Not surprisingly, speculation would soon lead to hard times. The fierce rivalry with nearby Cannon City had been settled more or less honestly at the ballot box, making Faribault the one and only seat of Rice County.[8] A large saw mill had been built by the Scott brothers. By 1858 there would be 25 drygoods and grocery stores, a flour mill, several banks, a newspaper, two breweries, a common school, and the beginnings of a library and lyceum series. "Many eastern persons think our stores can be only shanties with a few hundred dollars worth of goods in them," wrote R.A. Mott in the *Herald* that year. "To correct that impression one need only walk through the streets and see the goods displayed in the glass fronts of the stores."[9] Two churches had already been erected — St. Anne's Roman Catholic, which had burned (arson was suspected), and the Congregational Church (at a cost of $1,000). "Elder" Cressey, a Baptist farmer-preacher, and the Rev. Thomas Kirkpatrick, a Methodist circuit-rider, had started groups that would soon put up buildings of their own. In 1858 the state legislature named Faribault as the site for the deaf-mute school, provided that the citizens donate forty acres for it — a development that would eventually lead to three large state institutions and greatly influence the character of the community. But now, despite fires, financial reverses, occasional horse-thievery, and one big (though groundless) Indian scare, Faribault was a quiet and industrious town. Editor Mott exaggerated when he wrote that "the pioneering is over," but surely he represented the general optimism when he added, "Let those who would reap come early."[10]



Left: *Pipestem — Eastern Dakota, circa 1870 (ashwood, porcupine quills, ribbon, remnants of duck scalp, dyed horse hair.* Right: *Knife case — Eastern Dakota, circa 1850 (porcupine quills, deerskin, buffalo rawhide, tin cones, wooden toggle). Both belonged to Bishop Whipple and are now owned by Shattuck-St. Mary's School. Both appeared in the 1980* Straight Tongue *exhibit of the Science Museum of Minnesota. Pictures reproduced by permission of the Museum.*

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[6] *Faribault Republican*, June 12, 1872, p. 1.
[7] He served in the Mexican and Civil wars and represented Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri. He was in and around Faribault for three years, during which time he founded Shieldsville.
[8] A fictional account of the various intrigues, said by F.W. Frink, Faribault's earliest historian, to be very accurate, may be found in *The Mystery of Metropolisville*.
[9] Quoted in Neil, p. 238.
[10] *Ibid.*

Alexander Faribault, founder of the town.

The Founder of the Town

Alexander Faribault was a simple and magnanimous man who attained considerable wealth but eventually lost it. He was born at Prairie du Chien, Wis., probably in 1802 or '03 — not in 1806 as most biographical accounts say. 1806 was the year of his baptism — an event which, according to his obituary, he distinctly remembered. His father, Jean-Baptiste Faribault, was one of the colorful early French-Canadian fur traders of the Upper Midwest. Today he is more famous as a historical character than his son Alexander — except in and around the city of Faribault.

Alexander Faribault followed his father into the fur business and traded among the Wahpekute as early as 1826, though he did not establish a permanent trading post at the site of present-day Faribault until nine years later. Still, his stock of merchandise was considerable: in 1828 it included "strouds [a kind of cloth], blankets, cartouche knives, scalpers, guns, black silk handkerchiefs, earbobs, arm bands, tomahawks, garters, combs, vermillion paint, needles, wampum, mock garnets, flour, pork, corn, powder, lead, candles, whiskey, and other articles amounting in all to $138.08."* Between 1835 and 1853 he worked in the Cannon River Valley during the winter months and spent summers with his family at Mendota, where the American Fur Co. was headquartered. As early as 1844 he tried to start the first French-Canadian colony in Minnesota, but results were modest. In 1853 he built the first frame house in Rice County — very possibly in all of southern Minnesota.** It cost $4,000. Lumber and other materials had to be brought in from Hastings and St. Paul, and there were no real roads yet — only trails. That historic house still stands on its original location in Faribault. Only the stockade that surrounded it is gone. [Two years later he erected a stone house on the bluff above the river; in 1873 it would become part of Dow Hall, one of the original buildings of the Minnesota Blind and Sight-Saving School.]

Although Alexander Faribault was largely uneducated, he spoke three languages — French, Dakota, and English. His written English was crude and not always clear, as this early letter to Henry Sibley shows:

Canon River 30 Deb 1836

Dear Sir

I am very sorrow to write you that my Indes have been to war on the Foxes, they were thirty seven of them, three of them have been kild, one wonded.

they have made now hunt a tall I am fride that I will make nothing this year

the Black Eagle has been here and now he is gone to see you I hope you will treet him well Let him have 4 bushel of Corn 1 bag of flower he has give me som fur.

you may keep one of my Men for I Cannot afford to keep three men here. keep Gamel for the others I can feed with Corn.

I am your Obt Servet
Alex Faribault ***

He was known for his good nature, honesty, and generosity, but seldom was he taken advantage of. According to legend, in the front room of his house he kept an open box of gold coins, and any needy visitor was welcome to help himself.

A devout Roman Catholic, Faribault arranged for Mass to be said regularly in his house until a chapel could be built. After the original St. Anne's burned, he contributed $3,000 towards a new church named in honor of the Immaculate Conception. He also helped to build churches in Mendota and St. Paul, and would later be one of the founders of the "French Church" in Faribault, Sacred Heart. His liberality would extend to Protestants as well, and

Above: *The Faribault house, 1853.*
Left: *Faribault street scene, circa 1875; reproduced by permission of the Minnesota State Historical Society.*

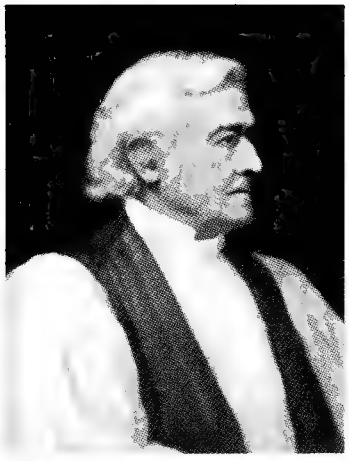
Episcopalians especially would benefit. He would give acreage to Seabury Divinity School and Shattuck and make the largest original local pledges for Bishop Whipple's house and the Cathedral building fund. The Bishop had good reason to call Faribault "the most generous of men."

His life was intimately bound up with the native people. During the thirty years that he traded with them, there appears to have been no strife whatsoever between Faribault and the Indians. He acted as a mediator in a tribal dispute in 1830 and as official translator the next year in the Mendota and Traverse des Sioux treaty negotiations. It was not his fault that terms of these agreements were violated by the white man.

Yet considering all that he did for the Indians' welfare, it at first seems ironic that Faribault organized a cavalry unit to fight against the followers of Little Crow in the Dakota Conflict of 1862. During the Battle of Birch Coulee, Faribault's horse was killed, and he used it as a barricade. Next morning he discovered that the body was full of Indian bullets.**** Faribault was one of the few in his unit to survive. And yet the following year he would risk his life to shelter Indians on his farm. Eventually he would spend much of his own wealth to feed and clothe them. There was no contradiction: Alexander Faribault, unlike most of the settlers, was able to distinguish between those Native Americans who were friendly towards the white man and those who were not. Putting it that way is, of course, a gross over-simplification — but Faribault had to act in the historical present. He was interested in peace, as he understood it, and followed his conscience.

Fur trading and real estate made Faribault a comparatively rich man. In 1858, however, he had invested heavily in the flour and saw mill businesses — enterprises that would prove far less lucrative. Finally he would become a pauper. Old friends in the town he founded would quietly provide for his needs until his death in 1882. His grave is in Calvary Cemetery.

*Minnesota History, June, 1927, p. 178. **Kenneth Bjork, "The Alexander Faribault House," Minnesota History, Sept. 1957, p. 321
***Minnesota History, June, 1927, p. 179. ****F.W. Frink, A Short History of Faribault ... p. 9.



The Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, first Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH BEGINS WORK IN FARIBAULT

On June 3, 1855, — Trinity Sunday — the first public services of the Episcopal Church had been read at the home of Thomas Y. Sentell at 10:30 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. Three persons were present, and the child of Mr. and Mrs. E.J. Crump was baptized. Sentell, who had recently moved to Faribault, knew of the Episcopal Church's work in St. Paul and had written the clergy there about opportunities in the new town.[11] The Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson, who officiated, had walked to Faribault from Stillwater — 98 miles round trip. In the following weeks, he traveled to Northfield and other settlements in the area. On September 9th he held a second service at Faribault, and returned on December 16th. Wilcoxson, an itinerant missionary originally from Connecticut, walked nearly two thousand miles in the first seven months of his mission that year, and traveled six hundred more by carriage and boat.

The Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, the Church's first Missionary Bishop,[12] had also visited Faribault that fall and confirmed two women, Hannah P. Smith and Elizabeth A. Young. Kemper's territory was "the Northwest" — from Missouri to Wisconsin and Minnesota, from Indiana to Kansas and Nebraska. For twenty years he traveled on horseback, on foot, and in lumber wagons.

In 1857 the Rev. James Lloyd Breck went with two associates to Faribault, and on September 27 wrote this to Wilcoxson:

Brothers Manney and Peake have been with me at this place since Thursday night, and we have set the ball rolling, by which the Church's work is, we trust, to have being in all this region lying round about ... We expect to be here early in the Spring as the regular pastors of the people, when we shall take all who are preparing for the Sacraments of the Church through a regular series of exercises for the different grades of Christian life ... We find here seven Church families besides persons interested in the Church ... We have given notice of a service for Sunday next, and of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist ... You will find Mr. Young ready to help you in all things ... There are, I think, but four communicants, viz., Mr. and Mrs. Sentell, and Mr. and Mrs. Young.[13]

Dr. Breck was impressed with Faribault: in a letter to an old friend, Miss Edwards of New Haven, Conn., he called it "a thriving and highly-important interior town." The citizens were particularly interested in Breck's plans for a *university*. According to the *Herald*, "its moral, literary, and even pecuniary advantages must be invaluable ... N.B.:

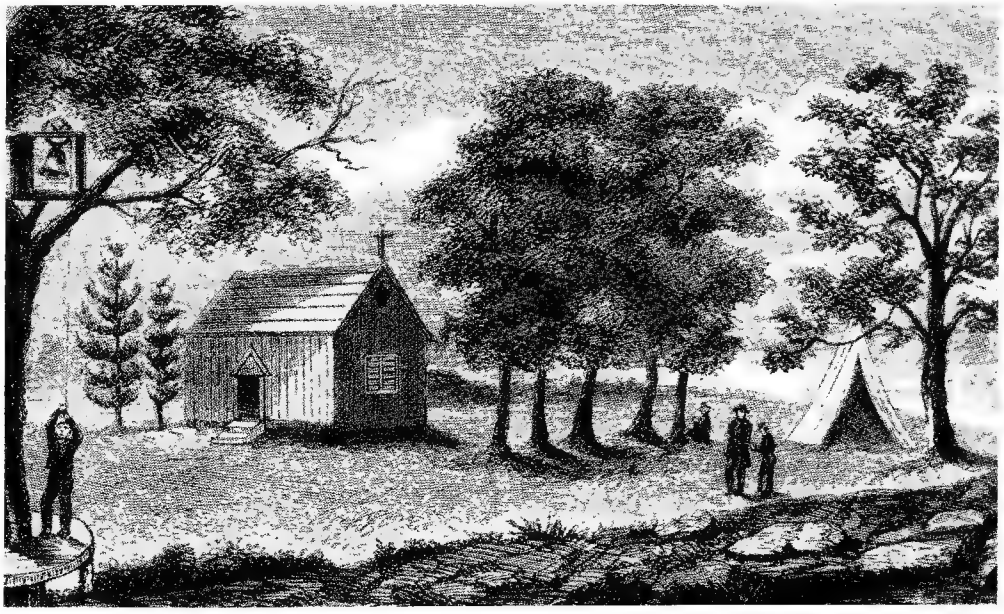
Jackson Kemper: Missionary Bishop of the Old Northwest

Although Alexander Griswold of the Eastern Diocese and Philander Chase of Ohio and Illinois had been mighty missionaries in an earlier generation, both had manageable territories — at least when compared with Jackson Kemper's. Consecrated in 1835, Kemper was responsible for a jurisdiction that now comprises most of seven states. Doubtless he often needed to be in several places at once; and indeed his biographer, Greenough White, noted that in one carelessly-worded account Kemper was said to have — on the same day — dedicated a church in Indiana and been galloping across Western Missouri towards Indian country. [White quipped, "Similar powers of bi-location are reported of medieval saints!"] Energetic as he was, Kemper always insisted upon a month's vacation. His habits were not particularly ascetic, but he shunned debt as if it were a mortal sin. He knew enough Latin to be a lawyer and read a chapter of the New Testament every morning in Greek, but he was neither a scholar nor an eloquent preacher. He cared little for poetry but enjoyed the novels of Sir Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper. He went to the theater only once — to see *Hamlet* — and was disappointed. He read newspapers religiously, believing that "a minister should keep up with what is going on in the world." Yet after ordination he refused to vote, so strong was his conviction concerning separation of Church and State. His personal faith was said to be simple, and *Rock of Ages* was his favorite hymn.

—based on *An Apostle of the Western Church* by Greenough White

[11]See *Mollies' News* [St. Mary's Hall alumnae news], 1931, p. 10.
[12]A Missionary Bishop was chosen, not by a diocese, but by General Convention and was supported out of General Church missionary funds.
[13]Charles Breck, *Life of Dr. Breck* [New York: E. & J. B. Young and Co., 1883], p. 333.

Every person will be permitted to assist in establishing the certainty of its location in Faribault."[14] Breck, his wife Maria, their infant son Muhlenberg, and "a little Chippeway girl" named Clara Mokomonik left immediately for the East, where Breck hoped to raise funds for the new enterprise. This "gem of a child from the woods," he hoped, would prove convincing evidence of what the Church might do with and for the Indian.



Above: *The Rev. James Lloyd Breck as a young man.* Left: *Headquarters of the Associate Mission for Minnesota, St. Paul, 1850.*

BRECK'S EARLIER WORK AT ST. PAUL

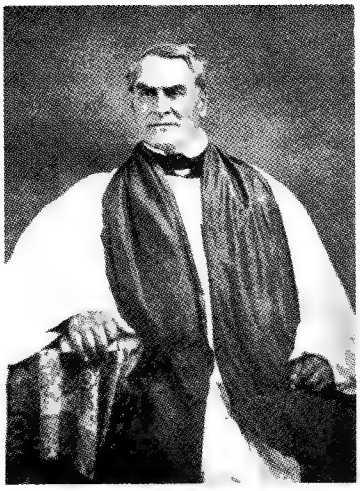
Breck's mission in Faribault would be similar to his earlier work. He has been called "The Apostle to the Wilderness." Fired with an austere missionary idealism, in 1841 he had founded Nashotah House in Wisconsin, along with John Henry Hobart and William Adams. All three were deacons and recent graduates of the General Theological Seminary, New York City. Nashotah was to be an "Associate Mission" and a "Religious House" under the general direction of Bishop Kemper.[15] The bishop, however, was on the trail most of the time, and Breck was put in charge. After nine years, somewhat disillusioned and having "had enough of governing," Breck left Nashotah in 1850 to begin work in Minnesota — but not before he had paid off the debts that the House had incurred during his administration. At St. Paul, he worked with the chaplain of Fort Snelling, the Rev. Ezekiel Gear, and founded "The Associate Mission for Minnesota." Besides Wilcoxson, Breck had brought with him a deacon, the Rev. J. Austin Merrick from Philadelphia.

The Territory of Minnesota to which Bishop Kemper had assigned these men could boast only three towns in 1850: St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Stillwater. Since 1838, "Father" Gear, as he was known, had been the only priest of the Episcopal Church in the territory. They selected St. Paul as the center for their work. A week after their arrival they purchased two acres at the rear of the town and pitched a tent. There they cooked their meals, did their wash, and followed the Nashotah rule. Their attire was a black cassock, and they walked to preaching stations at Stillwater, Cottage Grove, St. Anthony Falls, Point Douglass, Willow River, and Prairie La Crosse. Like monks, they engaged in daily community prayer, and just as unusual in that time, they celebrated the Eucharist weekly. The Mission was to be both educational and missionary. Within a year, a Mission House had been built beside the tent, and a chapel erected — Christ Church, St. Paul. As the work expanded, services were conducted at settlements along the Mississippi, St. Croix, and Minnesota rivers.

For some time the Mission had one student. Theodore Holcombe [who had been at Nashotah] was taught by Merrick, the only faculty member. Breck was president. Holcombe later wrote:

[14]October 1, 1857, p. 2.

[15]"Associate Mission" meant a group of men associated with each other and directly with the bishop in missionary work. "Religious House" meant that the group was to live under a monastic rule. So far as is known, Nashotah was the first such experiment in the Episcopal Church. Nashotah is west of Milwaukee.



The Rev. Ezekiel Gear, first Episcopal clergyman in Minnesota.

For some time I was the college ... A little later Stephen Green Hayward joined me. And then there was besides, Craig, the Parish school teacher ... The discipline of the house was rather strict, as at Nashotah. We were awakened at five in the morning by the ringing of the bell, our name duly called and answered to, prayers at six, breakfast at seven; then study and recitations until noon unless there was an errand, when the college suspended for the time being; then work in the afternoon and study at night.[16]

Apparently the college was suspended often. The professor was absent two days a week on missionary duty. Holcombe later returned to Nashotah, was ordained, and became rector of St. Paul's, Winona.

The training of missionaries for Minnesota met with resistance from Nashotah. The new president, the Rev. Azel D. Cole, had not only softened the asceticism of Breck's Religious House — he sent no missionaries to Minnesota, and opposed the founding of a seminary at St. Paul. Kemper took Cole's part in the conflict. Acquiescing for now to the Bishop's authority, Breck would defer founding a "second Nashotah" until he went to Faribault. Meantime, making creative use of this disappointment, Breck developed an indigenous ministry among the Ojibwa which resulted in the ordination of the first Indian in Kemper's vast territory.

In 1851, when the first attempt was made to organize the Church in Minnesota, there were only three congregations of any size: Christ Church Parish, Holy Trinity at St. Anthony, and Ascension at Stillwater. At Christ Church, on August 25th, the constitution and by-laws of "The Church Missionary Society of Minnesota" were adopted, with Breck as president. Not only the three congregations but also the various missionary stations were to be represented by clergy and lay delegates. The object of the society was to establish churches throughout the Territory. At the first Annual Meeting on the Thursday after the Epiphany, 1852, offerings were made by congregations, individuals, church women, and Sunday School children. There were now five ordained missionaries in Minnesota: Gear at Fort Snelling; Breck, Wilcoxson, and Merrick at the Mission House; and the Rev. Solon W. Manney, the newly appointed chaplain at Fort Ripley. There were three churches and ten mission stations in Minnesota, five mission stations in Wisconsin, three theology students, and one church building already consecrated. The mission in Minnesota had begun.

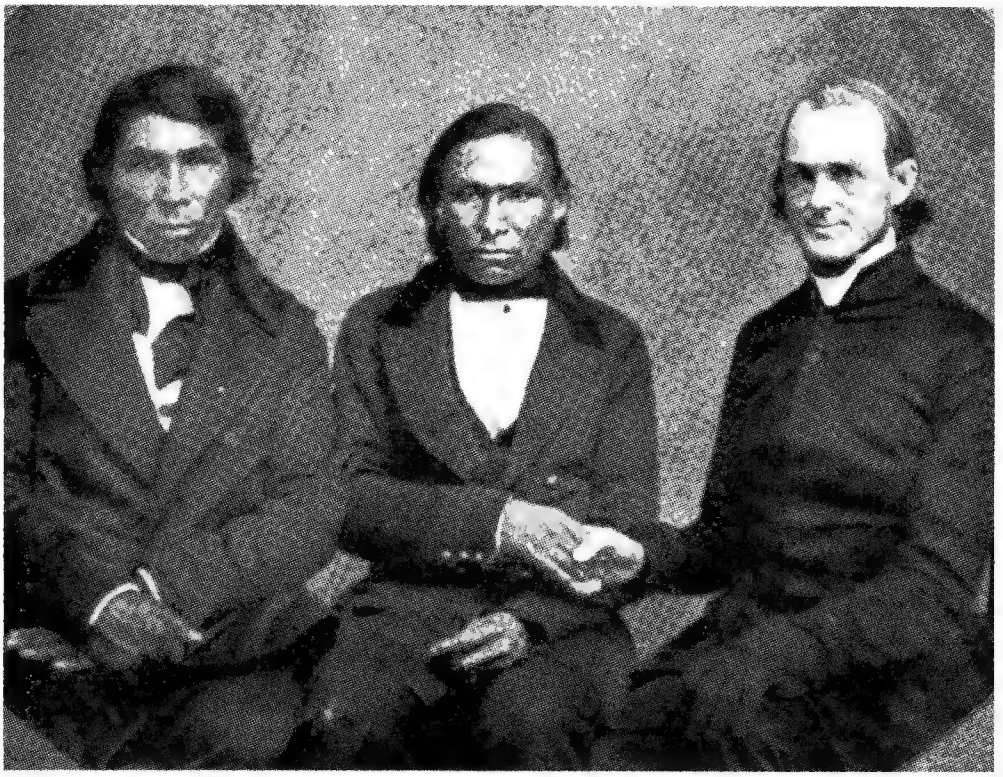
BRECK'S MISSION AMONG THE OJIBWA[17]

By the Treaty of 1851 between the United States government and the Ojibwa nation, a vast area was opened for settlement. The call to establish a mission among the Ojibwa people was intense for Breck. The mission appeared to be a simple matter. The Ojibwa said, "Come." The Spirit said, "Go." Father Gear gave encouragement. Bishop Kemper, though hesitant, wrote that he was "most deeply interested." But Breck complained to Kemper that Nashotah had sent no one. General Seminary could not be expected to help. There was no financial aid from the Church's Domestic Board. And yet, the time for an Indian mission was right. It would mean the end of the St. Paul mission. Breck would go alone, but he had not yet discarded the Associate Mission concept.

Two distinguished Indians would prove important to Breck in the new mission field — Enmegahbowh and Chief Hole-in-the-Day.

Enmegahbowh had been born in Upper Canada of Christian parents. They had given him to a Church of England missionary, who taught him not only the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, but also to read and write. He then returned to his village and, by the light of pine sticks at night, continued his studies. After a while a Methodist minister persuaded his parents to give up Enmegahbowh for a year. During the year he was at Sault St. Marie working as an interpreter. Afterwards he served several denominations and worked for the U. S. government at Red Lake, Leech Lake, Sandy Lake, and Cass Lake for almost 22 years. Then all the missionaries left the country. After seven years of continuing education at an academy in Illinois, he returned to Minnesota as interpreter for Methodist missionaries. It was while he was crossing Lake Superior on his way to Canada that he seemed to hear a voice in a storm

[16]Theodore I. Holcombe, *An Apostle of the Wilderness*, (New York: Whittaker, 1903), p. 63.
[17]This section is based mainly on the detailed account in C. Breck, pp. 181-333.



Left to right: *Manitowak, Enmegahbowh, and (shaking hands gingerly) the Rev. James Lloyd Breck.*

directing him back to his own people. He met Gear at just the right time. Gear recognized Enmegahbowh's devotion and learning, and his desire to serve in the Church of his baptism. Referring to Breck, he said to Enmegahbowh, "I am glad to tell you I have a missionary who will go to your people."

The other Indian beckoning Breck to leave St. Paul was Hole-in-the-Day, an Ojibwa chief. He was no common man. He had great influence. A former terror to the Dakota, he had made peace and declared his wish to live like a white man. He had sought out Father Gear, who promised to ask the Church for a missionary. Again, Breck was the man.

They had been in correspondence for some months, Enmegahbowh encouraging Breck to come and teach, to accept Chief Hole-in-the-Day's conversion, and to translate parts of the Prayer Book. Then he wrote that the Chief was very sick and would not live long, but wanted to see Breck before he died. Breck made the journey to Fort Ripley of over one hundred miles, arriving on February 21, 1852. There he met Enmegahbowh and Chaplain Manney. The three set out for nearby Crow Wing to meet Hole-in-the-Day —who had left! Disappointed, Breck walked back to St. Paul. After Easter, he made a second trip to Crow Wing. With Enmegahbowh as guide and interpreter, he spent a night talking with Hole-in-the-Day. The following morning, after Morning Prayer had been read in the forest, the chief promised Breck ground for a Mission House. Breck returned to St. Paul to gather men to join him in the new work.

By Ascension Day, Breck was again back at Crow Wing. Enmegahbowh led Breck, Holcombe, and Craig, the former parish school teacher, to a place near Hole-in-the-Day's farm. The Festival of the Ascension was celebrated and the "Chippeway Mission" inaugurated. Two days later a chapel was built of pine boughs, called St. John's in the Wilderness; this was the place of Breck's first sermon to the Ojibwa, on the "Parable of the Lost Sheep." The following Monday the Indians met in council after a medicine dance, and at the end of the day announced that the missionaries would be permitted to stay. They pitched their tent on the bank of the lake, put up a shanty for cooking, and the Gull Lake Mission was begun.

All summer long Breck traveled on foot back and forth between Gull Lake and St. Paul — a 300 mile round trip. He tried in vain to obtain more helpers. Eventually Breck

Shoulder bag that belonged to Bishop Whipple — Ojibwa, circa 1855 (deerskin, beads, wool and cotton cloth, yarn); from the Shattuck-St. Mary's collection. Picture reproduced by permission of the Science Museum of Minnesota.

was exhausted. Wilcoxson, the rector of Christ Church since July, single-handedly was now caring for three parishes in three towns and fifteen mission stations — and money needed for his work was being designated for the more appealing Gull Lake Mission. Suddenly Merrick became so ill that he could continue his work no longer. The Associate Mission in St. Paul came to an end.

At Gull Lake, the first permanent building was now under construction. It was twelve by fourteen, with a pitched roof and attic. The logs were hewn on two sides, laid up, chinked, and mudded. Before the cold of the winter, a second building, nearly twice as large, was constructed of logs, with a corridor connecting the two. The missionaries helped the carpenter and took turns cooking. All occupied the tent, sleeping on the ground under blankets.

Then a new and crucial phase in the mission developed. At Nashotah and at St. Paul, the community had been entirely male. Toward the end of October, however, Mrs. Eliza R. Wells joined the community as matron — a woman who had been in charge of an orphanage, one accustomed to frontier life and familiar with Indian culture. She was given the "attic" of the new building — a few boards laid across the ceiling joists and reached by a ladder.

On All Saints' Day, 1852, work started on the church. An offering of $300 had arrived from New Jersey. Early in the morning the whole Ojibwa band gathered at the Mission House. At two o'clock Manney arrived from Fort Ripley. A procession of Indians and whites was formed — men, women, and children repeating the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the *Benedictus*, and carrying the books and papers to be deposited in the cornerstone. Minnesota's first Episcopal Church west of the Mississippi would be called St. Columba's.[18] Breck blessed the stone in the Name of the Trinity, Manney preached, hymns were sung in Ojibwa, and a meal was served to everyone at the Mission House.

That winter the buildings were finished on the inside, but life was difficult. A number of girls joined Mrs. Wells to learn "white ways." Wood cut in the forest was green and had to be dried in the oven before it would burn. The stars could be seen through the chinking on a clear night. Their food was game and fish bought from the Ojibwa, as well as flour, potatoes, and salt pork. The only fruit was cranberries sweetened with maple sugar.

True to the nineteenth century white man's evangelistic imperative, the Mission would have two objectives: "civilizing" the Ojibwa and teaching them the Christian faith. The men worked in the woods and brought in food. The women, under the instruction of Mrs. Wells, learned cooking, washing, ironing, needlework, and domestic hygiene. Each night the community gathered in the Mission, kneeling on the floor, reciting prayers and singing hymns in Ojibwa. On Sundays and Saints' Days the Eucharist was celebrated. Breck taught the community each night, and Sunday morning as well. On the third Sunday in Lent, eight Ojibwa were baptized, all dressed in pure white. They received Biblical names and were expected to live as whites.

The larger Native American community watched the work of the Mission carefully. It was apparent that the missionaries were earnest and zealous for the spiritual and cultural welfare of the Indian. Before the year 1852 was out, the chief of the Kesahgah band some miles away had asked the missionaries to come; and accordingly, Breck and two others set out to select a site — the second in a chain of Indian missions. During the winter of 1853 Chief Bear's Heart talked about moving his band to be near the Mission. By June, Breck had gone with Manney to Otter Tail Lake (eighty miles northwest) and chosen a 160-acre site for yet a third Mission House. The journey by canoe was a 250 mile round trip. In August, 1853, Bishop Kemper consecrated St. Columba's, returning in October to administer confirmation for the first time. Among the six persons presented was Enmegahbowh, who took the name John Johnson. He had come in July and was preparing for the diaconate.

In the summer of 1853 at St. Columba's, 16 Indians lived in the log house with six whites. Among the new missionaries was Miss Jane Maria Mills. On August 11, 1855, the Rev. James Lloyd Breck and Miss Mills were married by Father Gear. The participation of married and unmarried men and women in the Mission was a radical

[18]St. Columba's still exists, though the congregation was later moved to the White Earth Reservation.

Above: *Enmegahbowh.* Left: *St. Columba's Mission, 1852.*

Dr. Breck: An Old Student's View

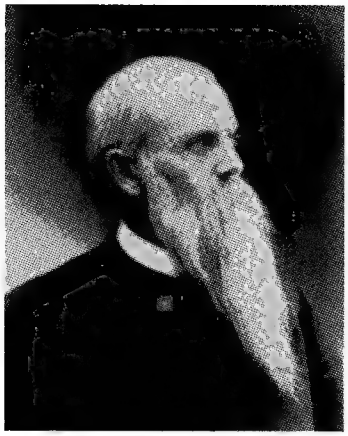
"He was six foot four, and he appeared even taller than that, by reason of his erect and military bearing ... His dress was in its way a uniform, and of the best material. His clerical coat reached to his knees, and was closely buttoned from the throat to the waist. His linen was of the finest, and always scrupulously clean ... His hair was light in color and thin, and his eyes were blue and soft ... Physically, Dr. Breck always seemed to be in perfect health ... I never knew him to miss the smallest opportunity on stage or steamer or in hotel for writing letters and getting them off at once ... He was 27 years old when I first knew him and even at that time he did not impress me as being a young man ...

"This grave, but very young, president of Nashotah House was not altogether without capacity for a little relaxation ... I recall several occasions when there had been considerable snowfall, he would join the younger boys in a snow-balling bout, to their great delight. These frolics were always after dark. As he ran like a deer, it was difficult to catch him ...

"In the earlier part of Dr. Breck's celibate life, he was the ideal Knight of the Cross to hundreds of people in the East. The distance, the wildness of the unknown country, the hardships of the life, his extreme youth, the novelty of his itinerating labors, and his striking personality, all appealed to the imagination of Eastern Churchmen — and to Churchwomen, especially — and created an enthusiasm for the hero of it all, such as no one at this date [1903] can possibly imagine ... He created a new era in giving for missions ...

"It seemed a part of Dr. Breck's personality to ignore difficulties and go straight for the mark. I think he really did not wish to see dangers if there were any ..."

—from *An Apostle of the Wilderness*, by Theodore Holcombe



The Rev. E. Steele Peake, pioneer missionary.

change, shocking indeed to friends at Nashotah as well as in the East. But as Breck himself tried to explain, "I found it necessary to marry, where the *domestic* life was to be taught as well as the Christian."[19]

By 1855, the St. Columba Mission was beginning to receive recognition. The Governor of the Territory, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Presbyterian missionaries in the area, and Episcopalians in the East all helped to support Breck's schools and mission with funds.

On November 12, 1856, the Rev. E. Steele Peake and his bride came to the mission at Gull Lake and took charge. He had been transferred by Bishop Kemper from Shakopee, in the Minnesota Valley. The same day, Breck, his wife, and their infant child left at 3:30 a.m. by dog sled for Kesahgah to take charge of the new Mission. They arrived at midnight, a journey of sixty miles. By December, he had laid the cornerstone of the Church of the Good Shepherd. In January, 1857, Miss Emily West joined the Kesahgah mission to help care for the sixteen children living in the two-room log Mission House. She had been at St. Columba's during the summer preparing for the change of leadership. It was a time when troubles were beginning in the Ojibwa community.

In 1856, whiskey was available for open sale to the Indians. In addition, an order was received at Fort Ripley to withdraw the troops. Early in July, 1857, Miss West was attacked in the Mission House at Kesahgah. [She was rescued by the interpreter.] Not long after, two men broke in. Soon the windows were boarded up, and a supply of water was kept in the house in case of fire. Friendly Ojibwa dared not interfere — their own lives were in danger.

Shortly after, Breck himself was threatened by a young Indian after an evening service. The mission community met together to decide what to do. They agreed that they could not remain. The next day they packed. All but Breck left Kesahgah about midnight. The following day was hot and humid. Heavy rain slowed the progress of the ten men and women. They camped in the forest, and started again shortly after midnight. At dawn they came in sight of St. Columba's, wet, tired, and hungry, and were received by Mr. Peake and his community. After resting at St. Columba's, the Kesahgah missionaries went for safety to Fort Ripley.

Breck left Kesahgah on July 9, 1857, and never returned. Likewise at St. Columba, drunkenness, violence, a murder, and a lynching had terrorized the missionaries. On August 20, Peake and his family also went to Fort Ripley. The white missionaries seemed to have failed. Their withdrawal, however, provided a slight possibility for the development of an indigenous ministry. Enmegahbowh, placed in charge of the Gull Lake mission, would be made a deacon two years later, but already he was "one who stands before his people" — which is what his name means. Such a position must have been precarious. Meantime, Breck would go to the East to seek support.

On July 3, 1859, Bishop Kemper would ordain Enmegahbowh deacon in Faribault. The scene was one of peace with Ojibwa, Dakota, and whites sharing at the Lord's Table. Though not born in the United States, Enmegahbowh apparently was the first Indian deacon in the American Church. Eight years later, June 20, 1867, he became the first Indian priest.[20]

Enmegahbowh would keep the work going at St. Columba's for many years, but after the summer of 1857 Breck's mission there had come to an end.

AN ASSOCIATE MISSION AND PARISH ARE BEGUN AT FARIBAULT

The Rev. Solon W. Manney was appointed by Bishop Kemper to work at Faribault as of October 1, 1857; but since he remained at Fort Ripley through the winter with the remnant of the missionaries from St. Columba, it is unlikely that he did much in the new field before Breck's return. In the spring Breck brought back the Rev. David P. Sanford of Brooklyn, N.Y., and Miss Mary J. Mills of Troy, N.Y., as well as three young men interested in preparing for Holy Orders.[21]

[19]C. Breck, p. 297.
[20]The date is Tanner's. Bishop Whipple recalled ordaining Enmegahbowh in the Cathedral but gave no date. The building would have been far from complete in 1867. George C. Tanner, *Fifty Years of Church Work* ... (St. Paul, 1909), p. 351; Henry Benjamin Whipple, *Lights and Shadows* ... (New York: Macmillan, 1902), p. 178.
[21]This despite a letter from Kemper, Oct. 3, 1857, which specifically said, "I trust you will not think of a theological department at present — certainly not before you have a Diocesan ..."!

A Surprising Natural Resource in the Woods

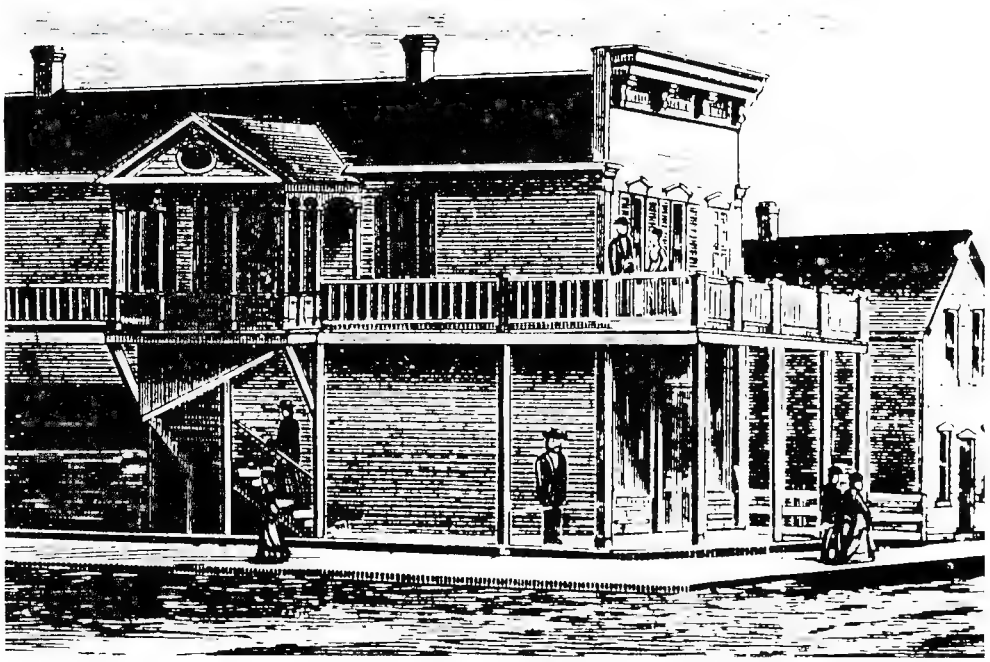
Though they were welcomed warmly by the citizenry, Breck and Sanford seemingly chose an inopportune time to start a mission at Faribault. 1857 had experienced a severe recession, and 1858 would be a year of crop failures. But in a U.S. Centennial address in 1876, F.W. Frink told how, suddenly, ill-fortune turned to fair.

"The prospect was gloomy, and many families anticipated actual want before the coming of another harvest; but the silver lining to the cloud was not long obscured, and relief came from a quarter as little looked for as the manna in the wilderness by the Israelites. By somebody the happy discovery was made that our timbered lands were full of *ginseng*, the sovereign balm for every ill that Chinese flesh is heir to — and forthwith our population was transformed into a community of diggers, and many a man, and even woman too, who had never earned more than a dollar a day before, received two to four dollars for their day's labor in the woods. Thus was Rice County's darkest hour tided over ..."

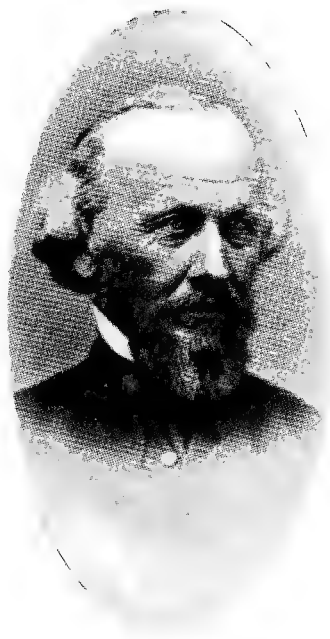
—from Neil's *History of Rice County*, p. 278. [According to Orwin Rustad, native of Faribault and longtime biology teacher at Shattuck-St. Mary's, ginseng again came to the rescue for some families in the Great Depression of the 1930s, a nice bed was found in one of the ravines near the State School.]

The new work at Faribault would incorporate various aspects of the earlier work — a community of missionaries, both men and women, engaged in secular and theological education, itinerant preaching, and building up the Church. Though celibacy was no longer obligatory, poverty and obedience certainly were — as was the discipline of daily common prayer. Their mission would be to whites and Indians alike.

On May 15, 1858, Breck reiterated his plans before a meeting of citizens. He intended to establish a college for male students on the east side of the Straight River on the bluff, and Mr. Faribault and Mr. Fowler had offered land. On the west side of the Public Square was to be a "seminary" for female students, and a building for it would be



Fowler's Store, Faribault, where the Mission School opened on June 3, 1858.



The Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson, who held the first Episcopal Church services in Faribault, 1855.

put under contract within ten days. A church was to be erected nearby. Probably at Sanford's suggestion, the new Associate Mission was named in honor of the Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury. The name of the educational institution was to be "The Bishop Seabury University." *University* suggests how audacious their intentions were; *Bishop Seabury* — the first bishop of the American Church — suggests how conspicuously Episcopalian.

An announcement appeared in the *Faribault Herald* two weeks later, stating the purpose of the school: "[The founders] will not aim to secure eclat by training their pupils for the mere parade of public examination, but rather to fit them by careful training of heart and head, for filling creditably to themselves and usefully to society, the stations for which it shall please God to call them in their after-life."[22]

The previous fall, the newspaper had commented upon the "pecuniary advantages" of a university, and the missionaries were quite willing to use that approach to get further support. Now, near the end of June, the *Central Republican* carried this report signed by Breck and Sanford:

We are sixteen souls in all ... We have been with you one month only; during this short season, we have simply been making preparation for our work. And yet we have expended in Faribault the sum of $1288 ...

To laborers and teamsters	*$ 89.05*
To carpenters and lumber dealers	*118.05*
For household and school furniture	*108.62*
For provisions, supplies, rent, &c.	*125.60*
For dry goods and hardware	*149.09*
For lands	*700.05*

Let any business man now look at this matter a moment and he will tell you that this small amount has already benefitted not simply those with whom we have dealt, but divers other persons.[23]

Besides a gift of land, pledges worth $354 in labor and materials had been received — though Breck and Sanford had hoped for more. "Every child is a consumer," they pointed out, adding that already several applications had come in "from abroad."

Classes had begun on June 3. In the first year a total of 167 pupils would attend, though certainly not all at once. Among these were 17 Indian children, both Dakota and Ojibwa, who were housed next to Breck's Mission House in a little dormitory called Andrews Hall.

The missionaries were also trying to develop interest in the parish church that the Associate Mission hoped to establish. Little is known about the activities of Mr. Sanford, the first Rector, because he stayed so briefly, though we may infer that he worked zealously, for most of his ministry was spent in villages and small towns in his native Connecticut — many of which have vanished.[24] A record of Breck's work, however, has survived: according to Theodore Holcombe, his former student, Breck probably visited every house in Faribault within the first two months. Furthermore, at least one service had also been held in every settlement close by.

He literally visited from house to house. It was his idea of an Associate Mission that the clergy who composed it should cover all points within a day's journey from the centre of operations —that in the course of their travels they should stop at every house ...[25]

A Church-School building — 21 by 50 feet and "very church-like" with a "triplet window of stained glass " — was put up by mid-summer, and in early September an addition was put on that made it thirty feet longer. Already Breck had ideas for a "real church" of *stone*.[26]

The Parish of the Good Shepherd grew quickly. The fact that as many adults as children were baptized in the earliest years reflects conditions of frontier life. Until recently the ministrations of religion had been limited to sporadic visits of itinerant preachers of various denominations. But after 1858 the Episcopal Church was not only available in Faribault — its missioners were actively seeking out lost sheep. The parish had been aptly named.

Seven were baptized by Breck on Easter Day, 1859 — all of them adults; likewise the next Easter, nine more adults. [During 1860, 19 of the 31 baptized were adults.] That

[22]June 2, 1858, p. 2; this was the last issue of the *Herald* — beginning with June 9 it became the *Central Republican*.
[23]June 23, 1858, p. 2.
[24]Information on the Rev. David P. Sanford was received from the Archives of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Tex.
[25]Holcombe, p. 151.
[26]C. Breck, p. 346.

Four Early Clergymen

Timothy Wilcoxson should especially be remembered in Faribault — he was the first to hold Prayer Book services in the town. Yet the same could be said of more than thirty other communities in the state and several places in Wisconsin. From the seed that he scattered in the central and southern parts of Minnesota, 14 congregations still survive. Unable to afford a horse, he was content to travel on foot. Eventually Ezekiel Gear raised enough money from friends in the East so that the missionary could ride. Though "a Yankee of the Yankees," as he described himself, Wilcoxson was not adamant enough against the South during the Civil War to please most of his people. At one service only one was willing to receive Communion with him — "All the others," he wrote, "esteemed me a 'rebel' because I preached peace and prayed for peace." George Clinton Tanner described Wilcoxson this way: "He was not a great man according to the standards of the world. He gave to Christ and the Church all that he had to give. He was not learned ... He came from the workshop, and so he knew the hearts of workingmen."

Ezekiel Gear and *Solon Manney* shared several characteristics. Both were scholars who read classical Latin authors for recreation. Both were witty and wise. Both were Army chaplains. Father Gear, the first ordained Episcopal minister in Minnesota (1836), was the senior presbyter of the American Church when he died in 1873. Unable to get around easily because he was lame, Gear wrote a great many letters. Those he sent to Bishop Whipple sparkle with colorful anecdotes and ironic humor. Manney gave up a comfortable military stipend of $1800 a year to work at Faribault for less than fifty dollars a month. "Short and round and jolly," as Holcombe remembered him, Manney would die of gangrene in 1869; yet in the first crucial decade he was probably Bishop Whipple's dearest friend and counselor among the clergy. Whipple once said that Manney "made up what Breck lacked."

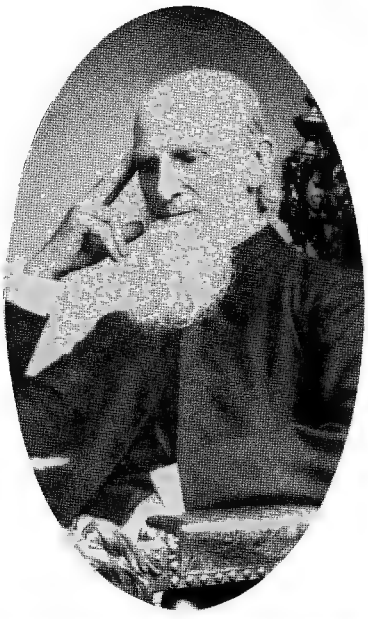
David Sanford, first Rector of the Parish in Faribault, stayed for less than a year — in fact, he seldom stayed in any place for more than two or three. Precisely why he left Faribault is unclear: suddenly he was "on leave," and soon it became permanent. Breck left no clues. There is evidence, however, that the two missionaries did not get along. Two decades later when Tanner was collecting anecdotes for his history of the Diocese, he wrote David Sanford, who was then working in New England. Sanford replied that the memory of his days in Faribault was so painful that he did not want to dredge up any specifics — and so Tanner simply omitted all mention of conflict.* Dr. Sanford devoted most of his ministry to rural Connecticut, but he did return to Minnesota briefly, serving at Calvary Church, Rochester, in 1869-70. Though a man of education and culture, he never achieved, nor apparently sought, prominence. Bishop Whipple once said that Sanford "built up waste places."

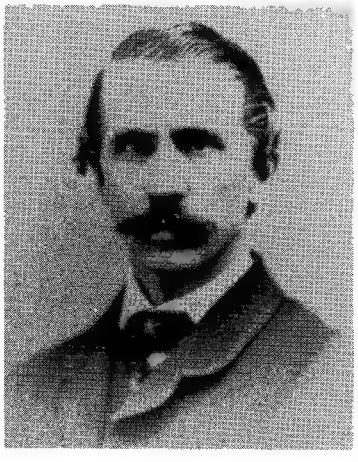
*The authors are grateful to Joan Gundersen of Northfield for this information. She was at work on a history of All Saints' Church and found Sanford's letter to Tanner at the Minnesota Historical Society. (Sanford helped to organize the Northfield Parish.) Holcombe gives several examples of Breck's inability to compromise.

The Rev. Solon Manney, pioneer missionary and scholar.

same year, with the arrival of the first Bishop of Minnesota, 28 were confirmed, making the total number of communicants 55. (There were also 100 children in the Sunday School.) The next year, with 45 more baptisms, the parish claimed 155 "souls" altogether in 35 families. Average attendance at Sunday services was said to be "about 250."

In 1863 a staggering 110 baptisms were reported — 37 adults, 73 children — and the total number associated in some way or other with the parish was "about 400." By now, apparently, there were *three* Sunday Schools! A women's society called the Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd was organized to raise funds for a variety of church





Top: *The Rev. George C. Tanner, pioneer historian of the Church in Minnesota.* Below: *J.C.N. Cottrell, first Junior Warden of the Parish; reproduced by permission of the Rice County Historical Society.*

projects and to promote fellowship within the congregation. Yet, strange to say, Sunday attendance figures stayed about the same. Breck was well-known for his emphasis on arduous preparation for the sacraments; nonetheless, many early converts were growing careless about their Christian duties. The problem of a large number of nominal Episcopalians would plague the church in Faribault for much of its history.

It is noteworthy that there were relatively few men in the congregation. Their names were listed in the parish register as heads of families, but in many cases the "B" (for *baptized*) followed every name except that of the father. Luke Hulett is an example. His wife's and children's baptisms were all recorded, but Hulett himself was an "infidel": he considered religion — any religion — a force for good in society but would not make a personal commitment to any particular one. He equated the spiritual insights of "Confucius and Moses, Socrates and Plato, Jesus and Paul, Mohamet and Joseph Smith, Red Legs and the Little Six of the Sioux." "Humanity is left," he said, "to work out its destiny under immutable, natural law."[27] A man like Luke Hulett can hardly be called typical, but "free-thinkers" were fairly common in early Faribault, as elsewhere on the frontier.

Yet a number of men were involved. Edward Crump, whose daughter was christened at the first service held in 1855, was justice of the peace, postmaster, hotel-keeper, and the first school teacher in Faribault. Thomas Y. Sentell, the first Senior Warden of the Parish, was a carpenter who had come to town in 1855 with the Nutting brothers. The first Junior Warden, J.C.N. Cottrell, arrived the next year. Born in Quebec, he and his brother had heard about the Gold Rush in 1849 and *walked* most of the way to California (it took them over seven months)! They had no luck in the gold fields, and how they happened to settle in Faribault is unclear. In any case, J.C.N. Cottrell prospered and eventually opened a hardware store. He would be a leading member of the Parish for over a quarter of a century.

Only a few years before, Luke Hulett had looked over the area where the Cannon and the Straight come together. Since then the energies of Dakota, Ojibwa, and whites of several languages and cultures had also come together — at Faribault. And the Rev. Dr. James Lloyd Breck had begun to focus those energies on an intensive mission of the Episcopal Church.

The 'Pig Story'

"It is told as an incident by Dr. Tanner, who has written up Faribault more fully than anyone, having been a tutor and professor there from the first, that once on the occasion of a mud-walk of eight miles into the country to hold a service, Dr. Breck was passing an infidel's house, a rough old farmer of a type frequently found in the early days of the West. Dr. Breck was offered a drink of water and fell into a talk with the man, and so won his confidence that on his return to Faribault he was again invited to rest awhile; and before he departed was invited to visit the sty and shown some very nice pigs of a recent litter, and upon leaving was actually offered one of the pigs if he could get it home. The pig was put into a bag and, rather than stop the flow of good feeling on the part of the man, Dr. Breck shouldered his burden and trudged five miles to Faribault — with the pig struggling and squealing all the way. The 'Pig Story' was always popular in Faribault, as an illustration of Dr. Breck's willingness to sacrifice himself in the interest of Holy Church. When one recalls the stateliness and dignity of Dr. Breck, one can well imagine the picture! No hunter of the West was ever more intense or interested or skillful in the pursuit of game than was our hero ... for the souls of men ..."

—from *An Apostle of the Wilderness*, by Theodore Holcombe.

* * * * *

"My grandmother always said that Dr. Breck did most of the work, and Bishop Whipple got all of the credit!"

—Louise McLarty (Her great uncle, Enoch C. Cowan, was an 1867 graduate of Seabury.)

[27] *Republican*, Nov. 22, 1882, p. 3.

Chapter II

HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE: THE CATHEDRAL IS CONSTRUCTED

Civil war was in the air. Nevertheless, General Convention was meeting in Richmond, Va. Among many items on the agenda, the Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, Missionary Bishop of the Northwest and Senior Bishop, was to consecrate Henry Benjamin Whipple to be the first Bishop of Minnesota. The service took place in St. James' Church on October 13, 1859. The presenters were Bishop William Heathcote de Lancey of Western New York (who had confirmed Whipple and ordained him deacon and priest) and Bishop Henry John Whitehouse of Illinois. Bishop George Burgess of Maine, the preacher, told Whipple that he must be one "who from this day gives up the blessed ties which unite a pastor to his people; who will henceforth bear heavy burdens and often find no help but in Jesus Christ; who will have to build up waste places, to heal heartburnings, and be a wanderer until called home by the Great Shepherd."[1] Whipple later wrote, "I did not then know all that was meant ..."

The Episcopal Church tried to ignore the disunion of the states at this convention. Roll call started with Alabama, and seats were assigned to all dioceses, North and South. Delegate Robert E. Lee could not attend either the business sessions or the consecration. He had gone to Harper's Ferry under arms.

When the convention was over, two incidents signified the new Bishop's mission in Minnesota. A missionary from Africa home on leave came to Whipple and said, "Before I left Africa, our Christian black men gave me $70.00 to carry the Gospel to the heathen in America. I give it to you for Indian missions." He would need many such gifts, large and small, during his long ministry.

Then Bishop de Lancey came to Whipple, put his arms across his shoulders, and said, "My dear brother, I want to give you some advice that will save you much trouble." After a deep silence, he continued, "Never allow yourself to be separated from your luggage." That was sage advice for a bishop who would travel not only across the lakes and prairies of his diocese but to the ends of the earth.

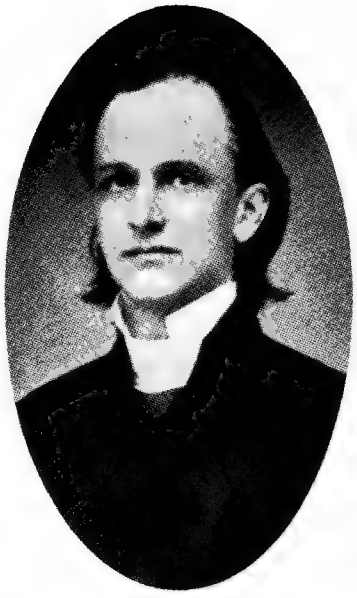
At Bishop Whitehouse's request, Whipple's first confirmation was in the parish he had begun in Chicago near the railroad yards, the Church of the Holy Communion. Then he left for his new diocese. His wife Cornelia and their six children stayed in Chicago for the winter. There was no house for them yet in Minnesota, and the salary was $1,500 a year — a cut in pay.

Bishop Whipple's first service in Minnesota was on November 10, 1859. He got off the river steamer at Red Wing and went down to Wabasha's village where he preached and christened an infant in the Baptist chapel. Wabasha was hereditary chief of the Lower Dakota and would prove a valuable friend. In a sense, that baptism was Whipple's own: he would soon find himself deeply immersed in the struggles of a new state.

The Bishop was welcomed warmly. Whipple appeared among them tall, impressive, open, authoritative, his hair falling to his shoulders. He had already corresponded with James Lloyd Breck and knew of his work in Gull Lake and Faribault.[2] In the diocese were four parish clergy and sixteen ordained missionaries; Church work had been established in 35 places.

MINNESOTA ELECTS ITS FIRST BISHOP

The Diocesan Convention which elected Henry Benjamin Whipple had been held at St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, on June 29, 1859, with Bishop Kemper presiding.[3] Nineteen priests and one deacon were canonically resident to vote, together with the lay delegates from 23 organized congregations. The convention was called to order by Kemper, the list of clergy and seats for parishes in union with the Diocese was determined, and the convention recessed until 3:00 p.m. He announced that he would resign his jurisdiction in Minnesota at the consecration of the bishop they were about to elect. He would also resign as Missionary Bishop at the forthcoming General Convention, and become Bishop of the newly-formed Diocese of Wisconsin.



The Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple as a young clergyman, before his election to the episcopate.

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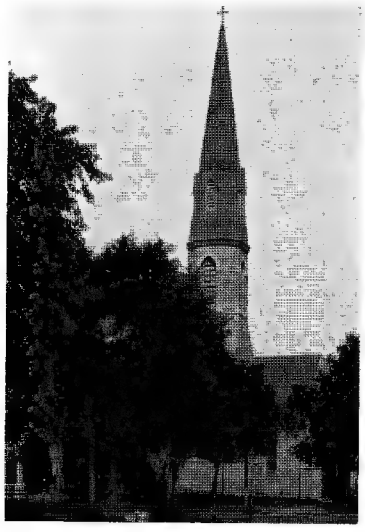
[1]Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, p. 28.

[2]Indeed his first letter to Breck — which apparently is no longer extant — was written in November, 1854, before Whipple had moved to Chicago; at the end of Breck's reply there is a request that Whipple come to Northern Minnesota to work in the Ojibwa mission. There is no record of correspondence between then and Whipple's election as bishop. (Breck's letter is at the Minnesota Historical Society Archives.)

[3]Much of this account of the election derives from Tanner, pp. 286-293.



St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, where the Diocese of Minnesota was organized in 1858 and Whipple was elected First Bishop in 1859.

In the afternoon a motion was made to elect a bishop. A substitute motion was made to begin nominations at 4:30 p.m. and to ballot until an election was made. Earlier the bishop's salary had been lowered from $2,000 to $1,500, and seven congregations were admitted to union with the convention so they could participate in the election. (Good Shepherd, Faribault, was one of these.)

On the first ballot, eighteen votes were cast: eleven for John I. Tucker, three for Andrew B. Paterson, two for Alexander H. Vinton, one for Abram N. Littlejohn, and one for Henry B. Whipple. The convention adjourned until 9:00 a.m. the next day, when the lay delegates would ballot. (Concurrence of lay and clerical orders is required for election.) The laity voted by parish units: ten ayes and eleven nays.

The clergy then cast a second ballot. Tucker received eleven; Paterson, six; Whipple, one. Again by the same margin the laity refused to concur. It was apparent to the clergy that Tucker, the "catholic" rector of the Church of the Holy Cross, Troy, N.Y., the candidate supported by friends of the Faribault Associate Mission, could not be elected.[4] The lay delegates had rejected him by a single vote.

In the afternoon, when the convention was again called to order, the clergy retired for consultation. Additional names were discussed, none of whom appeared likely to accept. The Diocese could hardly wait another year. The clergy knelt in prayer, and after a time of silence, Solon Manney stood up. He had observed that in the balloting one vote had been cast each time for the Rev. H.B. Whipple. He asked who had cast that vote and who Mr. Whipple was.

When Mr. Manney sat down, there was another moment of silence. Then Dr. Paterson, rector of the host church and a leading contender, stood up and said that Whipple had visited St. Paul the year before and had met Gear. Paterson also reported that on a recent visit to Chicago he had been told by a gentleman there, "I don't know any better man fitted to be the bishop of a Western diocese than Mr. Whipple, and were I a member of the convention, I would vote for the Rector of the Church of the Holy Communion."

A straw vote was taken on the spot, and it was decided to present Whipple's name to the lay delegates. At the formal clerical ballot in convention, Whipple received fourteen votes and Paterson, four.

The lay delegates retired for consultation. They met, as had the clergy, at the home of Captain N.J.T. Dana near the church; and he informed them about what the clergy had said concerning Whipple.

When they returned to convention, a formal lay ballot was cast. Of 21 parishes voting, there were 21 ayes. The motion was quickly made for the clergy to make it unanimous.

A committee of three was appointed to notify Mr. Whipple of his election. In his autobiography, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*, Whipple describes how he received the news:

In June, 1859, I one day returned from visiting my parish and found my dear friend, the Rev. Dr. Clarkson, walking up and down in front of my house. He ran toward me and throwing his arms around my neck exclaimed, "My dear brother, you have been elected Bishop of Minnesota."[5]

Letters followed from Gear, Kemper, Breck and dozens of bishops, priests, and lay people, encouraging him to accept.

This was his reply:

Adams, Jefferson Co. N.Y. July 12, 1859

Reverend and Dear Brethren: — After mature deliberation and earnest prayer to God, I have decided in humble reliance upon Divine grace, to accept the solemn trust to which the Diocese of Minnesota has elected me.

I have nothing to bring you but an earnest and hopeful heart and a hearty consecration of myself to the service of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

To you, my brethren, I shall often look for sympathy and help amid the cares, labors and responsibilities of the Episcopate. There will be no labor or trial too great if God strengthens us. If our hearts are knit to Christ by a living faith, we shall be united to each other, and the Holy love

[4]Tanner, p. 287; a provision of the Diocesan Constitution specified that a candidate proposed by the clergy and twice rejected by the laity would become ineligible — *Lights and Shadows*, p. 27.

[5]p. 26.

learned of Him shall win many a tempest tossed and weary soul to the refuge of the Church. Pray for me that I may be strong by the help of God, to labor in upbuilding the Redeemer's Kingdom. With loving regard

I am your Brother in Christ,
Henry B. Whipple[6]

On July 22nd, he resigned his parish. Who was this man who would serve as Bishop of Minnesota for over forty years?

THE MAN ELECTED BISHOP

Henry Benjamin Whipple was born in Adams, Jefferson County, N.Y., on February 15, 1822. (Adams is about 40 miles north of Syracuse.) His father, John Hall Whipple, was a transplanted Rhode Islander. His mother, Elizabeth Wager, was of another pioneer family. Both were then "revivalist"[7] Presbyterians, but his blind grandmother was an Episcopalian and had Henry read to her from the Prayer Book. When he was ten, he went to a boarding school at Clinton. His parents intended him to have a profession and sent him next to Oberlin to college where his uncle was on the faculty. Oberlin was in some ways a radical institution: it admitted both women and blacks, and was a major stop on the Underground Railroad. While he did not adopt its political and social positions wholesale, much of Whipple's openness concerning racial conflict and economic injustice among whites, blacks and the American Indians may have been seeded there. He attended Oberlin for only one year (1838-1839); because of frail health, he returned to Adams and worked in his father's business.

In spite of his size, Henry Whipple's health continued to plague him throughout his long life. At the age of 16, he was six-feet-two. Later, at least partly for reasons of health, he often spent winters in Florida and traveled in the Caribbean and Europe.

In October, 1842, he married Cornelia Wright. They had gone to elementary school together, and it looked as though they would settle down to a lifetime in Adams. Like his grandmother, Cornelia was an Episcopalian. Despite a pious upbringing, however, Henry Whipple did not yet profess the Christian Faith.[8]

Cornelia Wright had been sent to Emma Willard's Female Academy in Troy when Henry Whipple was at boarding school. After graduation she taught school in South Carolina. Most of her salary had gone to help her brother Benjamin become an Episcopal Church missionary. She did not actively seek to convert her husband — instead she prayed. Whipple began to read the Bible and eventually was baptized. He hesitated about that step because it meant not only committing oneself to Christ but also having to choose a specific denomination. But in the end, apparently, it was not Cornelia who most directly led her husband to become an Episcopalian; rather it was his father's agent, the Hon. William G. Pierrepont, of Pierrepont Manor on-the-Hudson, N.Y. Having revealed his developing faith to Pierrepont, Henry Whipple was "surprised" to hear that he was already "following the teaching of the Episcopal Church, which was to yield his heart to Jesus Christ in child-like faith and without question to enter upon a life of obedience, and then the Holy Spirit ... would do the rest ..."[9] Pierrepont introduced Whipple to a clergyman named Bartlett, who started immediately to prepare him for confirmation. Pierrepont would become Whipple's "lifelong friend and patron."

In August, 1843, their first child was born, a daughter they named Sarah Elizabeth. By fall, Henry Whipple's health began to fail again. Cornelia made him consult a doctor, who ordered a winter in the South. Cornelia remained at Adams with Sarah, and John Whipple provided the means for his son to be away.

Henry Whipple began keeping a diary of his travels when he left on October 12 by rail. From New York City he took a steamer to Savannah, and then went to St. Augustine. This was his first direct experience with slavery:

I dislike and ever shall the selling of slaves at auction. I hate to see signs of "Slaves, Horses & other property at auction" because I never would wish that it could possibly happen that family ties should be severed — and at all these sales there is a danger of it.[10]

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[6]Tanner, pp. 290-291.

[7]See letter from Whipple to Stewart Brown, Esq. of New York, August 17, 1867 (Minnesota Historical Society). Eventually Bishop deLancey confirmed Whipple's father, and Bishop Whipple confirmed his own mother.

[8]Whipple, *The Rt. Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple* ... (memoir of his early years, dictated to Tanner in 1892 but never published; typescript in Minnesota Historical Society Archives), p. 3.

[9]*Ibid.*, pp. 3-5; though a Presbyterian by heritage, Whipple apparently had never been christened.

[10]Lester B. Shippee, ed., *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary 1843-1844* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937), pp. 89-90.

Henry Benjamin Whipple with his daughter Jane, circa 1849.

It was also his introduction to the oppressed Seminole Indians:

[Chief Osceola] was a noble hearted being, frank, generous & high-minded, yet revengeful to his enemies. His capture was only effected by the vilest fraud ... He died of a broken heart, another victim to the treachery of a white man's friendship. No doubt the Indians were malignant & cruel, yet they fought as did our sires for home & country, they loved as did our fathers the scenes of childhood & the graves of their fathers. When will the cupidity & cruelty of the white men cease? Never, no never till the last lone Indian has gone to the spirit land.[11]

He rambled through all the Southern states, up the Mississippi River to Missouri, back along the Ohio River, and finally to Philadelphia in early May, 1843. These travels introduced Whipple to many of the major cities in the United States, and the major social and economic issues of the day. Along the way he recovered his health.

In August, 1845, the Whipples had a second daughter, named Cornelia after her mother. Whipple continued in business, dabbled in local politics — and had attacks of fever. In March, 1847, the third daughter was born, Jane. By now he had begun studying for ordination.

Like many clergy of his time, Whipple received no formal training at a seminary, though he claimed to have taken the equivalent of a complete theological course.[12] Tutored by the Rev. W.D. Wilson of Albany and working part time for his father, Whipple managed to support his family during his studies. Cornelia ran the house, looked after the three children, and kept the peace so Henry could concentrate. He passed the canonical examinations and was ordained deacon in Christ Church, Geneva, in August, 1849.

The previous June, their fourth child, Charles, had been born. Temporarily leaving Cornelia and the four children in Adams, Henry promptly accepted a call to Zion Church, Rome, about 75 miles away.

Bishop de Lancey ordained him priest in February, 1850, at Sacketts Harbor. His diaconate had been fulfilling, and Zion Church was prospering, though his stipend was a modest $500 per year. But upon hearing about congregations that flocked to hear Whipple preach, the bishop retorted, "Don't flatter yourself, boy. Ten times as many would have come to see you hanged!"

The Whipples stayed in Rome for seven years. Henry found time to be active in politics. He considered himself "a Democrat of the conservative school."

In 1853 Cornelia, on doctor's orders, spent the winter in St. Augustine. Whipple traveled with her to New York, where the General Convention was in session. There he learned of an opening in East Florida. Bishop de Lancey gave Whipple a leave of absence.

Though headquartered at Trinity Church, St. Augustine, he held mission services on plantations and in villages from Jacksonville to Tallahassee, 170 miles west. In the spring, they returned to Rome, and in June their fifth child, Frances, entered the Whipple household.

During the winter of 1856, Albert Neely of Chicago came to Rome to see the Whipples. He spoke of the need for a free church in the city's railroad district. (A "free" church did not charge pew-rents. At this point very few churches, Episcopal or otherwise, were free — and this apparently would be the first one in Chicago.) The Rev. R.H. Clarkson had lent three members of St. James' Church to make the number necessary to organize a new parish. The Free Church of the Holy Communion had rented Metropolitan Hall and wanted Whipple. Whipple did not decide to accept immediately, for he also had a call from St. Paul's, Milwaukee. In the end he felt that his duty lay in founding new work, particularly since it was to be in a working class area. At first the response was meagre. He wrote, "We hold church in a hall, a great room that will hold 2500 people — and my small congregation is like a few sheep in a large field ... I have got a little Sunday School ... not more than 12 scholars."[13] The family moved to Chicago in 1857 with no misgivings of their own, though their relatives and Bishop de Lancey had been less than enthusiastic. Chicago was the "Wild West," and Cornelia had only recently delivered their sixth child, John. The salary, however, was $2,000, plus moving expenses and a rented house in the tough neighborhood near the hall.

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[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21. He had already been exposed to much Native American lore in his childhood by an old neighbor who had lived as a captive among the Indians in upper New York State for many years "and became almost an Indian." ("A Letter from Bishop Whipple," *The Young Christian Soldier*, Easter, 1894, p.2.)

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Letter to daughters Nelly and Jenny, June 10, 1857 (Minnesota Historical Society).

That part of the city was burgeoning. There was no orderly plan for its development. People were of every conceivable kind, and liquor flowed freely. There were no church buildings, no sewage or drainage systems. Cows wandered. Water was scarce. Typhoid raged. Trains whistled and clanged and chugged. After visiting the saloons, billiard halls, stores, and factories, leaving cards and notices of church services, Whipple was surprised that no one came.

"How much do you know about a locomotive?" an engineer from the Galena Railroad asked him.

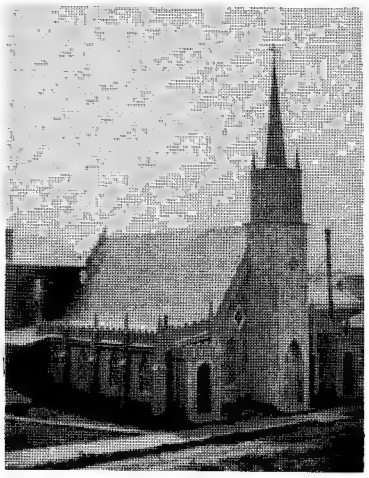
"Nothing," Whipple replied.

"Then you'd better read up *Railroad Economy* until you are able to ask an engineer about a locomotive and he won't think you're a fool."

Whipple went home, did his homework, and returned to the Galena roundhouse. Before long he was talking with the men about steam valves and variable exhausts. And then he told them about the services in his free church. The next Sunday they were all there. He helped anyone who asked, day or night. Cornelia, too, cared for sick and needy neighbors, often after she had put her own six children to bed.

Whipple was serving in a diocese torn between High Church and Low Church — while their bishop lived in New York. Arguments about slavery and states' rights erupted in Chicago's streets. Abraham Lincoln was debating Stephen A. Douglas.

This was the man who had been elected Bishop of Minnesota — whose name had mysteriously gotten one vote on each ballot, until both clergy and lay delegates decided that he would be their man.



Christ Church, St. Paul, founded by Breck in 1850: "Doll-house Gothic".

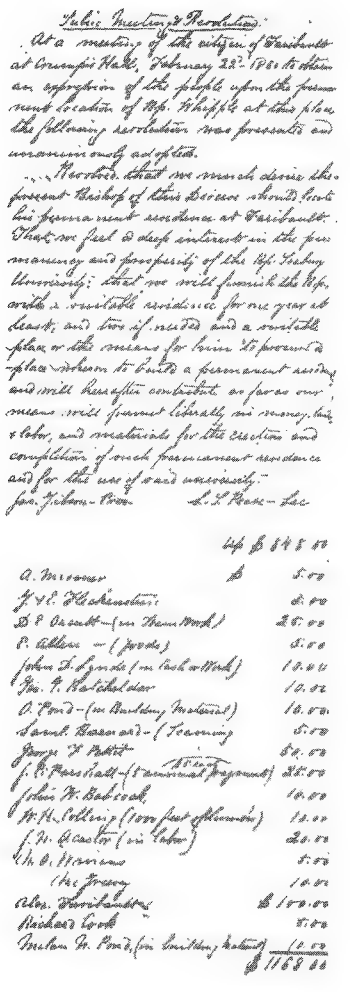
THE NEW BISHOP'S DIOCESE

When the new Bishop arrived, the state of Minnesota was less than a year old. There were no railroads. The economy was in a depression as loans based on Eastern money began to fail. Racial conflict was becoming intense. Whites were settling lands ceded by Indian treaties. Native Americans were becoming aliens. The government kept breaking its word.

The parishes were along the rivers. Christ Church, St. Paul, with 106 communicants, was the largest and most prosperous. The capital city had a second parish, St. Paul's. Holy Trinity Church was at St. Anthony Falls. Gethsemane Church was in Minneapolis; St. Mark's Free Church in North Minneapolis was served by a deacon. At Stillwater there was the Church of the Ascension. At St. Peter, the rector of the Church of the Holy Communion also served several mission stations. At Hastings, Timothy Wilcoxson was now the rector of St. Luke's as well as an itinerant preacher. The Associate Mission at Faribault was under the direction of James Lloyd Breck. With its clergy, students, and teachers, it had established a network of mission stations in the area. Two Federal outposts had Episcopal chaplains: Ezekiel Gear at Fort Snelling, and Joshua Sweet at Fort Ridgely near the Lower Sioux Agency. (E. Steele Peake had continued at Fort Ripley until its abandonment.)

In addition, a number of priests were living in strategic communities along the rivers and the roads, serving mission stations, isolated settlements, and Indian villages. Some were planning to construct buildings. Seventeen churches had been built out of everything from logs to stone. The total offerings that year for all purposes — including buildings — amounted to $8,025.23. Of the five hundred children receiving the teaching of the Church, about one-fifth were gathered at the Associate Mission in Faribault. There were 476 communicants reported in the Diocese, many in tiny, isolated congregations. They awaited organization, guidance, healing, and leadership from the almost unknown bishop who stepped off the river steamer.

Perhaps the most logical center for Bishop Whipple's work was the capital city. St. Paul was a thriving port on the Mississippi. Its population was over 10,000. Whipple, however, delayed making that decision, demonstrating his independence. He would travel around the state and see what was there before making up his mind. At St. Paul, there was no residence for the bishop, no headquarters for missionary work.



Public Meeting & Resolutions

At a meeting of the citizens of Faribault at Cranefs Hall, February 22d 1860 to obtain an expression of the people upon the permanent location of Rt. Whipple at this place the following resolution was presented and unanimously adopted.

...Resolved that we much desire the permanent residence of Rt. Rev. Bishop of Minn. Diocese should fix his permanent residence at Faribault. That we feel a deep interest in the permanency and prosperity of the Rt. Seabury University; that we will furnish the Rt. Rev. with a suitable residence for one year at least; and two if needed and a suitable place or the means for him to procure a place whereon to build a permanent residence and will hereafter contribute as far as our means will permit liberally in money, labor, and materials for the erection and completion of such permanent residence and for the use of said university.

Jas. Folsom - Pres. L. S. Peake - Sec.

Up $ 845 00

A. Manner	$ 5.00
J. V. C. Hollenbeck	5.00
D. P. Oakley - (on Farm Work)	25.00
P. Gillen - (goods)	5.00
John D. Lynde (on Rock Work)	10.00
Jas. P. Kalfelder	10.00
O. Pond - (on Building Material)	10.00
Samuel Baron and - (Teaming	5.00
George H. Pettit	50.00
C. D. Merchall - (1st annual payment)	25.00
John W. Babcock	10.00
W. H. Collins (100 feet of Lumber)	10.00
J. W. Gaston (in Labor)	20.00
Th. O. Morrison	5.00
(Rec. Treasy	10.00
Alex. Faribault	$ 100.00
Richard Cook	5.00
Nelson H. Pond (for building Material)	10.00
	$ 1168.00

Above: *Minutes of the public meeting that offered inducements to Whipple to settle in Faribault (original at the Rice County Historical Society).* Right: *The Church of the Good Shepherd, Faribault, showing transepts and other additions.*

FARIBAULT IN PARTICULAR

He left his visit to Faribault for last. Arriving in mid-February, 1860, Whipple found a flourishing mission where white and Indian were served together — a center of religion and education. He also found a day school that had enrolled 167 pupils the year before, and a staff of two priests, two laymen, two laywomen. Three young men were studying for ordination and were teaching in the school. There was a building, the headquarters of "The Bishop Seabury University", made of board and batten in "early pointed Minnesota style," used for services on Sunday and classes during the week. There were two small houses, one for Solon Manney and his family, the other for the Brecks. There was also a one-room cabin, the Seabury Divinity School. Plans for expansion were ambitious.[14] There was local interest and some Eastern money. There was also a considerable debt.

The Bishop's first service in Faribault was on February 19, 1860, at the "rude chapel" of the Parish of the Good Shepherd. During the visit a committee of forty citizens met with him and invited him to make Faribault his home. They pledged $1,168 and several lots of land as a site. Alexander Faribault, a Roman Catholic and part-Indian, offered five additional acres.

In March Whipple addressed his diocese:

I have selected Faribault as the place of my residence. It is a favorable centre of missionary work, in the midst of a rapidly increasing population. It offers a feasible plan of the establishment of church schools. Its citizens alone made a definite offer to aid in erecting a house for the Bishop. These conditions, besides those of a personal nature, connected with necessary economy, have made me believe that the good Providence of God has directed this choice.[15]

Early in May, the Whipples established their household in Faribault.

The Bishop's first step was to obtain a legal organization. The Articles of Incorporation of "The Bishop Seabury Mission" are dated May 22, 1860. The incorporators were Whipple, Breck, Manney, and Peake. The purpose was to be "the diffusion of religion and learning according to the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church." The Bishop of Minnesota was *ex officio* the President. The property that had been acquired by Breck and held by him in trust was conveyed to the new corporation. The day school continued without change. Local Church families and the Associate Mission continued worshipping together Sunday by Sunday in the Church-School. But now with the Bishop in residence, the vision of an *Episcopal* community for mission was beginning to become a reality.

At the close of his first year, Whipple reported that the number of missionary stations had almost doubled. All his visitations were made with his faithful horse Bashaw or by stagecoach. In this first year, in fair weather and foul, he logged at least 3,000 miles in the wilderness, holding services in school houses, taverns, log cabins, and the open air. He preached, baptized, confirmed, celebrated the Holy Communion, and

[14]In 1896 Tanner told the Faribault Cathedral Club that Breck even had plans for a medical school and a law school!
[15]Tanner, p. 301.

kept his eyes open for new opportunities. He was increasingly conscious of growing hostility between the Native Americans and the whites. His voluminous correspondence pleaded with government agencies that the Indian be accorded honor and justice, that the selling of whiskey be controlled, that educational and medical services be provided. His accounts of Dakota and Ojibwa communities offer vivid and chilling illustrations of white oppression and degradation. From the beginning, Whipple earned the name the Indians gave him, "Straight Tongue."[16]

PLANS FOR A CATHEDRAL ARE REALIZED

In spite of numerous conflicts and the scarcity of funds and manpower in so vast a diocese, plans for a "Bishop's Church" at Faribault — a cathedral — were developing. It is not clear whether Whipple or Breck was the originator. It is known that Breck had been thinking about a cathedral as early as 1860 — twice he mentioned it, first in his "missionary paper," then in a letter to Miss Sarah Edwards of New Haven, Conn. Breck's words are important, for it is clear that they represent an *idea*: "Here, too, [in Faribault] is found a devoted, and loving people, which may be molded to become the model parish of the Diocese — indeed the *real Cathedral*, not presently of stone and mortar, but of all those elements which make up the spiritual House of the Lord." And to Miss Edwards he writes on December 13 that he trusts "the real *Cathedral* will be reared up here. The daily service, with our large day-school and Divinity students, and the weekly Eucharist for the parish, are forming it, far more surely than could thousands of bricks (or stone) and mortar."[17] For Breck, apparently, "Cathedral" and "Associate Mission" were synonymous; but, up to now, the Associate Mission had always been less than its ideal self — for a bishop had been only indirectly involved. Now, however, in Faribault, the idea would come to fruition in a concrete reality, a building. Considering Breck's "catholic" convictions, the role of the Bishop cannot be over-emphasized.

On April 8, 1862, Mrs. Breck died. Though Whipple does not explain exactly why, this was the specific occasion for his decision to build the Cathedral. In his funeral sermon for Mrs. Breck, he refers to this idea and quotes the verse, "Work while the day lasts, for the night cometh in which no man can work." Both the funeral sermon and his address at the laying of the cornerstone would be printed and circulated widely. On Easter Day, the congregation of the Good Shepherd contributed over $600 to the cause, and eventually Dr. Breck would raise over $11,000 for the building fund. As the Bishop said, "It was while my heart was sad for my brother's [Breck's] loss ... that the thought came to build the [Cathedral] even in troublesome times. I believe God put that thought there ... and it grew to be a plan ..."[18]

July 16, 1862, must have been a poignant day for Dr. Breck. Bishop Whipple laid the cornerstone of the Bishop's Church, but as he himself said, "The world did not take much notice." Even the *Central Republican* thought it was nothing more than the beginning of yet another building project. The name was suggested by Bishop Arthur Coxe of Western New York — "The Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour." The building was designed in a rather plain Gothic style, apparently by Renwick & Co. of New York City. Stephen Congdon was the chief supervising architect, and Robert C. Wiley of St. Paul was the local supervising architect. C.N. Daniels of Faribault was the supervisor of the exterior stone work. The stone for the Cathedral was a native blue limestone from Milan Pond's Fall Creek quarry east of Faribault. Edward Goodman, the chief stonecutter, had recently come to Faribault from Yarmouth, England. (He was also to build the Church of the Holy Cross in Dundas.)

According to local legend, Indians helped with the actual construction of the Cathedral building. When the first pledges were made, at Easter, 1862, Dr. Breck "volunteered" children from Andrews Hall to do what they could. However, soon after the cornerstone was laid, the Dakota Conflict erupted. Beginning in 1863 there would be a colony of Indians living at Faribault under the Bishop's protection, and there is some evidence that at first they camped in the churchyard. No documentary evidence has been found to show that Indians worked as stone-cutters, carpenters, etc.; some *may*

Jane Maria Breck's grave and marker, moved to the Shattuck campus in 1967. The inscription reads: "Come, Lord Jesus, Come Quickly. Jane Maria, Wife of the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck, D.D. Born Jan. 19, 1827. Fell Asleep Apr. 8, 1862." A bronze plaque set in the north wall of the Shattuck Chapel quotes Bishop Whipple's address at her funeral: "And so she will sleep beside her Indian lambs who came to us from the wigwam to find a Saviour and a home, and when the resurrection morn shall break may say, 'Behold, I and the children whom God has given me.'"

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[16]In Dakota, *Kwa-ku-sun-de-na-niu*, according to the Rev. George Smith; this is not a term the Indians would have used in addressing Whipple; in his presence they referred to him as *Ki chi me-ka-de wi-co na-ye* which means "big priest in black robes."

[17]C. Breck, pp. 384 and 385. See also James M. Woolworth, *The Cathedral in the American Church* (New York: Dutton, 1883), p. 33: "Those who have given themselves the pleasure of reading *The Life of Dr. Breck*, lately published, may, from his plans for the Nashotah and Seabury Missions, gain a vivid conception of the English Minster. The Cathedral and the Minster were both missionary establishments ..." Indeed, Augustine's original mission at Canterbury in the late 6th Century sounds similar to the Associate Mission idea — see "cathedral" in *The Church Cyclopaedia* (ed. by A.A. Benson, 1886), pp. 129 ff.

[18]H.B. Whipple, "Address ... at the Laying of the Cornerstone of the Bishop's Church," p. 7.

Top: *Bishop Whipple, considerably older than when he laid the cornerstone, but looking characteristically determined.* Below: *Detail from the 1869 map of Faribault (see p. ii), showing the Cathedral with a "cross-capped spire" — perhaps like the one originally planned.*

At the Laying of the Cathedral Cornerstone, July 16, 1862

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN: There are times when the heart is too full for utterance, when words seem empty to speak the language of the soul. For two years I have watched and waited for this day's coming. The days and weeks came and went all too slow as my heart looked on for this day, when GOD would permit me to lay a foundation which should never die.

Of all the work which earthly hands may do, I know of none so blessed as the building of a Church of GOD. It is the only house which men build in time which lasts for eternity ... The day will come, even here in this sweet village, when our names will no longer be household words ... On yonder hillside, in the quiet acre of GOD, we shall sleep unmindful of the busy hum of this work-day world ... We lay here with songs and prayer, with holy benediction and loving words, the Corner Stone of a Bishop's Church. We shall watch it with faith and hope and prayer, and see these shapeless stones clothed upon with life, until they grow to be a thing of beauty, and every passer-by shall read in its cross-capped spire that this is a Christian home; a wayside heavenly hostel for pilgrims' feet; a training school of GOD, where men are trained for heaven.

I would interpret for you some of the loving thoughts which so fondly cluster round this corner stone. I would I had a prophet's gift ...

This is the corner stone of a Christian Church ... We are not here to-day to build a meeting house for a convenient gathering of worldly men. This will not be a sort of religious lecture room, where a Christian orator shall rehearse the shifting opinions of parties and schools ... I would that, like the Churches of early days, its doors may always be open to burdened hearts — that if any child of sin or sorrow shall feel the burden heavy on his heart, it may be to him a Bethel ... It is the misfortune of a day of doubting faith that now-a-days men do not build Churches for daily use. A half hour one day in seven is thought enough for GOD. It was not so with men of a purer faith ... They knew the worth of daily prayer; they knew what the Church of GOD was to weary souls, and so its doors were always open ...

THE WORSHIP OF THIS CHURCH WILL BE COMMON WORSHIP. The sweet strain of Psalmists which went heavenward three thousand years ago will attune our hearts to praise. The prayers which once rested on fathers' and martyrs' lips will set our hearts aglow with holy love. The same dear lessons of GOD's Word will be read within its walls, while holy times and holy seasons measure out its years, not by earthly suns, but by CHRIST the Sun of Righteousness. There will be voices here to join in that glorious confession of faith which every day encircles the world ...

THE GLORIOUS GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST WILL HERE BE PREACHED ... It is that old sweet story of Christ Incarnate, Christ Crucified, Christ Risen, Christ Ascended, Christ the Mediator, and Christ the Judge. It needs no other subject to soften rugged natures and make hard hearts as gentle as the heart of a Christian child ... From the day the babe became GOD's child in Baptism until the tottering step of three score years and ten, the Church has only one lesson — to tell, as she alone does tell, of CHRIST her absent Bridegroom, and with more than a mother's love, seek to make her children His by daily ripening them for heaven. The great reason why there are so many hearts around us dead is because we overlook the simplicity of the cross ... If we could only sit where they sat at JESUS' feet; if we could only have our hearts warm with His love, the Church would see again its harvest of precious souls.

THE SACRAMENTS OF CHRIST WILL HERE BE SET FORTH — not as mere forms ...; not as decent ceremonies for those who love Christian order; not as pleasing symbols to instruct the eye — no, none of these mocking phantoms of dreaming men, whose hearts are too cold for faith; but sacramental mysteries which are the realities of the Kingdom of GOD ... The faith which sees its sin, which feels its need, which looks to CHRIST alone for safety, will go with gladness where CHRIST has called him and find in Him peace and pardon.

This ... is for all for whom CHRIST died. This Church will be a free Church — no ranks, no titles here; for the poorest man on earth may find here his Saviour's home ... I trust that the open door and ready welcome of this dear Church will speak, as only such a Church can speak, to wanderers' ears, and that many such will come to hear, and stay to pray, and go hence as men went from JESUS, every whit made whole.

... This is a Bishop's Church, the centre of a Diocese which I pray GOD may be an Apostolic See. If my heart does not misjudge me I think I read in all your hearts the dawning of a deeper faith ... There are more hearts who thirst for the incense of daily prayer, and which, with deeper longings, are asking in weekly communions: "LORD, evermore give us this bread." The loving mercy of our GOD has given me as fellow helpers in this work as loyal and as earnest men as ever made a Bishop's heart glad ... I count it as a token full of hope that ere we laid the foundation of our Cathedral Church, the work of faith and prayer had knit together of lively stones a fairer temple in the LORD. The day will surely come when here upon the border (it may be when I am dead) there shall be a daughter of an Apostolic Church, with an Apostolic Bishop, with his corps of Apostolic Clergy, in an Apostolic Diocese, with heads and hands busy with Apostolic Work; and then the world will see the bride of JESUS CHRIST coming up from this wilderness ... "fair as the morn, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

Beloved, GOD hasten to us this time. To-day is a day of joy — joy almost without a cloud — and yet, like the joy of the men of GOD who repaired the temple, our joy is mingled with weeping. One whose heart would have rejoiced to have seen this day died without the sight.* For four years she went in and out among you as a help-meet of one whose life has been that of a faithful shepherd of CHRIST's flock. Last Eastertide, when the flowers of hope made the Christian grave so beautiful, she went to rest, and sweetly sleeps with her Indian lambs ...

... When it is done, I trust that every nail, stone, and timber in this House of GOD shall be some man's offering of love ... and then in every blow of the workman's hammer, in every tracing of the carpenter's skill, in the rich flood of light which comes from its windows, designed, as they have been, by one who drew the plan as an offering of love** — all will feel that the skill which fashioned so beautiful a work for GOD is dearer in His sight because it is the offering of men who longed to take something they called their own and give unto CHRIST ... It may be months, it may be years before our work is ended; but the day will come when this dear Church shall be to us, and our children after us, the House of GOD and gate of heaven.

—from "Address of the Rt. Rev. H.B. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, Delivered at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Bishop's Church, Faribault, Minnesota, July 16, 1862" (Faribault: Alex. Johnston, Book and Job Printer, Statesman Office, 1862)

*Mrs. Breck **Apparently New York architect James Renwick

Pledges towards building the Cathedral, Easter Day, 1862; reproduced by permission of the Rice County Historical Society, which has the "Subscription Book" in its collection.

have helped with tasks not requiring such skills. As far as the authors can determine, Indians do not seem to be mentioned as builders in any of the historical accounts before the 1940s. Legends are often based on facts, however. What *is* known for sure is that two of the stained-glass windows were given by Indian friends of the Bishop.

During the years of construction, the Faribault congregation under the leadership of Breck continued to worship in the little building it had shared with the day school. The Parish did everything it could to assist in the construction of the Bishop's Church. One of the first projects of organized women's work was an "Ice Cream Retreat" held May 25, 1864, proceeds of which were to be used for the organ. Again on July 4, 1866, the ladies of the Parish raised $70 from the sale of strawberries and ice cream. And again during the Christmas season of 1867, the ladies held a "Festival" and raised about $200 for the Cathedral construction. Most in the congregation were poor.

The work cost far more and took far longer than either the Bishop or Breck anticipated. Building began in August, 1862. Early in 1863 the *Republican* reported that, according to Breck, enough money had been given for the divinity hall and "nearly enough" for the Episcopal church.[19] (Apparently the community, or at least the newspaper editor, did not yet understand that this church was to be a *cathedral.*) By late May, construction was "being rapidly pushed forward," and it was speculated that everything might be finished "in the present season." Such optimism is hard to reconcile with a letter of Whipple's nine months later to an unidentified former parishioner and Wall Street broker. The Cathedral, wrote the Bishop, was now built "up to the window-sills" and all the lumber had been paid for. About $12,000 had been donated, and he thought that the total cost might be "about $25,000."[20] That same year "the iron companies at Pittsburgh" gave iron, nails, bolts, etc. "amounting to nearly $700." Apparently the Rev. George S.L. Slattery, father of the future Dean Slattery, had organized the effort, for Whipple wrote to thank him for the gift.[21] There were no reports of activity in 1865, a year when the Bishop was abroad; and the next year he could say only that the Cathedral was "slowly growing." (The previous April there had been eight workers — one stone-cutter, one general laborer, one quarryman, one teamster, and four carpenters — but no masons.) In 1867 he told the Convention, "In the present condition of our missionary work I cannot ask friends abroad for help." He hoped that every parish would contribute a window or piece of furniture as "a token of kindly interest in this great work" — but the response in the Diocese must have been discouraging, for the next year he said, "It would be a pleasure I cannot express, if the older parishes will place a window in the church as a token of their kindly sympathy in their Bishop's work."[22] Yet there must have been interest elsewhere: on October 30, 1867, the *Republican* said that only about $5,000 more would be needed to complete the Cathedral. (It did not say, however, how much had already been spent.) Six months later the "inside work" was almost done, and building the chancel roof would be next. On April 14, 1869, the *Republican* reported that the stained glass windows ("beautiful works of art and very costly") were being installed.

Only a few records survive from the construction period. One "Cathedral Account Book" for parts of 1866-67, kept by the Bishop himself, is in the Minnesota Historical Society. Some typical entries:

Dec. 19, 1866	*Paid for 2 lbs. glue*	$ .50
Jan. 21, 1867	*Geo. Cope, for 17¼ days work*	38.81
	D.T. Booth " 28¼ " "	63.56
	Wm. Milligan 24 " "	30.00
	N.W. Matson, 3 days team work	10.50
Jan. 28	*Geo. Cope, for 6 days work*	13.50
	D.T. Booth " " " "	13.50
	Wm. Milligan 6 " "	7.50

Cope and Booth were skilled carpenters; Milligan did "rough work."

Estimates of the total cost vary. The supervisor reportedly said that the whole project — including tower, bell, organ, and furnishings — would cost about $100,000. Neill in his 1885 *History of Rice County* says that $50,000 was spent; Frink, in *A Short*

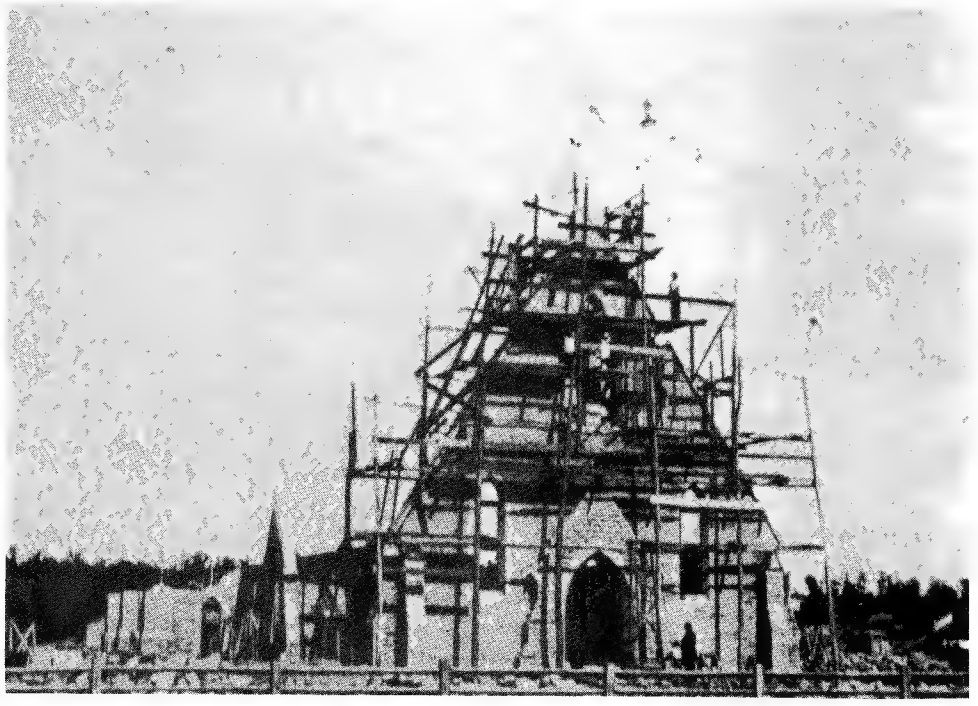
[19]Feb. 11, 1863; strange to say, Breck at this point was just about to leave for eight months of fund-raising! Perhaps he expressed optimism and the paper misinterpreted this as accomplished fact?

[20]Letter dated Feb. 12, 1864 (Minnesota Historical Society); Breck had returned a few days before, having raised $11,313.51 (C. Breck, *Life*, p. 417).

[21]Howard Chandler Robbins, *Charles Lewis Slattery* (New York: Harpers, 1931), p. 11.

[22]See *Journal*, 1866, p. 10; 1867, p. 10; 1868, p. 19.

History of Faribault, says $60,000. In several different contexts, the Bishop cites this last figure in round numbers, but he is not always consistent. However much it was, the money came from far and near — and it helped that the Bishop had some wealthy friends. He was also fortunate that the indefatigible Dr. Breck was willing to spend eight months in the East raising money and moral support largely from Sunday Schools and local mission societies.



The Cathedral under construction, probably circa 1864.

THE MISSION: "RELIGION AND EDUCATION"

The Bishop in his autobiography wrote:

I desired a Bishop's Church to be forever free, the simple ritual of which would be a model for a missionary diocese. This was the first Cathedral of the American Church erected in the United States.[23]

He was not mainly interested in a grand edifice — he was interested in a symbol, a *model.* As he wrote to an unidentified "friend and brother,"

I felt that I must have here a Bishop's Church, a real cathedral not alone of stone & mortar, but a real primitive church, with its hearts and hands busy in all good works — a Church whose doors were always open, where if any child of sin & sorrow should wish to forsake his sin & go to Christ, the church would give him a welcome — I wanted it in all things a model of my Diocese ...[24]

The vision of an Episcopal community for mission was not limited, however, to the Parish, the day school, and the Cathedral building. On July 17, 1862, the day following the laying of the Cathedral cornerstone, Bishop Whipple laid the cornerstone of Seabury Divinity Hall. Whipple described the scene:

The bluffs upon which the schools were to stand were covered by forest, the tipi of the Sioux scattered here and there. I recall the expression of amusement on the faces of my listeners, when, in my address upon that occasion, I drew a picture of the day when those wilds would be covered with institutions of learning.[25]

The purpose of the entire Bishop Seabury Mission was "the diffusion of religion and education," and if this goal were to be realized, missionaries had to be prepared. In the four years since Breck had come to Faribault, the requirements of a full Associate Mission had started to become a reality: a parish, day schools, a divinity school —all under the authority of the Bishop — and a cathedral. For the Episcopal Church on the frontier it was a stunning beginning.

[23]*Lights and Shadows*, p. 187.
[24]Letter dated Feb. 12, 1864 (Minnesota Historical Society).
[25]*Lights and Shadows*, p. 187. In another account Whipple recalls hearing one "border" man saying to another, "That's fine Episcopal talk, but, thunder, where will they get the money?" (*Republican*, Sept. 19, 1883, p. 1; reprinted from *The Churchman*.)

Chapter III

THE ASSOCIATE MISSION: CONFLICT TO CONSECRATION

When Bishop Whipple laid the cornerstone of the Cathedral he spoke of the "troublesome times" which the Church and State were experiencing. The Civil War had already dragged on for two years. The exploitation of the Indians, at which he had been appalled when he arrived in Minnesota, had become more intense. Now many of them were literally starving. The Bishop had repeatedly spoken out against such evils and had bombarded officials in Washington — even Presidents Buchanan and Lincoln — with plenty of facts. At first the Indian Bureau did not know what to make of Whipple. One commissioner asked Minnesota Senator Henry Rice, "What does he want; some money for a school?" Said Mr. Rice, "Bishop Whipple wants justice for these Indians and he will have it."[1] Whipple warned that if the government's unjust policy were not reformed quickly, tragedy would result. President Lincoln seemed politely interested but had a war to fight. It was known that he had rewarded political friends with Indian agency posts, and the Indian Bureau in Whipple's opinion was "the most corrupt in our government."[2] Minnesota for now would have to handle its own problems. For Bishop Whipple and Dr. Breck the solution lay not in driving out the Indians but in teaching them Christianity and "civilization."

EXTENSION OF THE MISSION TO THE DAKOTA[3]

Two years earlier, in June, 1860, Whipple and Breck had made their first visit together to the Lower Sioux Agency. They left Faribault, went fifty miles west by mail wagon, and were the guests of the Rev. Edward Livermore, missionary at St. Peter. The next day they moved down the Minnesota River to Fort Ridgely. At night they continued to the reservation with the chaplain of the fort, Joshua Sweet. There they stayed three days as the guests of the agency physician, J.W. Daniels, and his wife.

Nearly 2,500 Dakota had gathered at the Lower Agency to receive their annuity, which was to have been distributed "so soon as the prairie grass was high enough for pasture," about the end of June. Presbyterian missionaries had done exemplary work at the Upper Agency for nearly thirty years under the leadership of the Rev. Stephen Riggs and the Rev. Thomas S. Williamson; and in 1860, Williamson's son John had joined their mission. The Lower Agency had been served by the chaplain at Fort Ridgely, who occasionally conducted services in English, not in the Dakota language.

The annuities which the Dakota were expecting to receive when Whipple and Breck arrived were payments for ceding vast tracts of land to the United States government. On July 23, 1851, the Wahpeton and Sisseton Dakota, called the Upper Sioux, had ceded to the United States their lands in southern and western Minnesota, and also some in Iowa and Dakota Territory for $1,665,000. That treaty had been signed at Traverse des Sioux and at Mendota. On August 5, 1851, at Mendota, the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute Dakota, called the Lower Sioux, had ceded southeastern Minnesota for $1,410,000. These treaties opened almost 24,000,000 acres of rich agricultural land for white settlement three years later.

The 7,000 Dakota moved to two reservations, each about twenty by seventy miles long, bordering the upper Minnesota River. There were two administrative centers, known respectively as the Upper (Yellow Medicine) and the Lower (Redwood) Agencies. The Upper Agency included the woodlands and the sites of old villages which were more acceptable to the Dakota; the Lower Agency was mostly prairie land.

By 1857 land-hungry settlers made claims close to the reservation borders and wanted the reservations made smaller. Several Dakota chiefs attempted to increase annuity payments by ceding additional land on the north side of the Minnesota. They went with their agent, Joseph R. Brown, to Washington, D.C. and signed another pair of treaties, ceding nearly a million acres for a price to be fixed by the Senate; but it was two years before Congress appropriated any money — and then at thirty cents an acre. After

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[1]William Watts Folwell, *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Nov., 1901, p. 579.
[2]David A. Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians: Civil War Policy and Politics* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978), pp. 5-6.
[3]This section and the next are based largely upon two sources: Kenneth Carley, *The Sioux Uprising of 1862* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1976); and Betty Paukert Sheppard and Edward L. Sheppard, *The Mission at the Lower Sioux: 1860-1980* (Redwood Falls, Minn.: Prescott, 1981).

traders' claims were paid first, the Lower Sioux received little cash and the Upper Sioux only half of what the Senate had voted in 1858.

In 1857 another incident had increased the bitterness of the Dakota. In the spring an outlaw Wahpekute chief named Inkpaduta, along with a small band of renegade young men, slew thirty persons at Lake Okoboji, Iowa, in the "Spirit Lake Massacre." They then returned to Minnesota, killed several more settlers, and escaped into Dakota Territory. From Washington, D.C., the Minnesota Dakota were notified that they would be held responsible for apprehending Inkpaduta, and that no annuities would be paid until he was brought in. Only after Chief Little Crow of the Mdewakanton led a futile hunt did the government rescind this requirement.

Some of the Dakota, encouraged by the government, became "farmer Indians." They cut their hair, dressed in white man's clothing, built wooden houses, and took up white ways — sometimes, even the white man's religion. But they were derided by the "blanket Indians," who continued their old hunting and fishing culture.

Whipple and Breck visited these "farmer Indians." Their guide was W.J. Cullen, superintendent of the farms. Their assimilation of "civilization" impressed the two missionaries, but they were disturbed when some of the Dakota would not shake their hands. During the three days, they preached and taught in the house of Dr. Daniels. The Dakota came to listen. An interpreter bridged the two languages, and they worshipped in the Dakota language. It was St. John the Baptist's Day, June 24th, and Breck observed that they were, indeed, "a voice crying in the wilderness; prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God."

Wabasha, hereditary chief of the Dakota, and two other leaders, Good Thunder and Taopi, came to the Bishop and asked for missionaries and a school. While $6,000 had been allocated annually for education in the treaties, and the money expended each year, no child could read. The Bishop promised them a school, although he had no idea how he would manage the enterprise. Two boys from the Lower Agency went back with them to study at the school in Faribault.

After Breck and Whipple returned to Faribault, Samuel Hinman, a candidate for Holy Orders from Connecticut, came to Bishop Whipple:

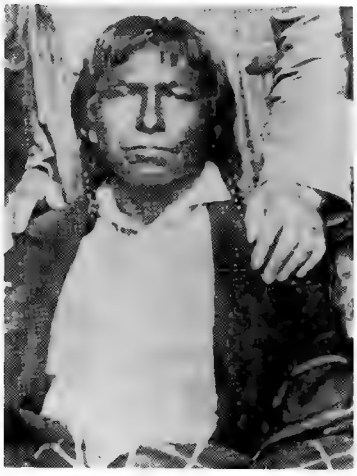
"Bishop, I have been learning the Sioux language," he said, "and I would like to become a missionary to them."

Four months later he was ordained deacon, and on October 4, he and Mrs. Hinman, newly married, arrived at the Lower Agency. With them was Miss Emily West, who had been with Breck and the others at the Ojibwa Mission. She had fled in the night with them from Kesahgah, and had gone to Faribault to care for the Indian children there. Now she would continue as teacher at the Lower Agency. The name Hinman chose for his work was the Mission of St. John the Beloved Disciple.

Before winter had set in, the missionaries had built a one-story Mission House, which served for living quarters, church, and school. At first the congregations were small. But by December, when Bishop Whipple first visited the mission again, fifty children had been enrolled. By the following December, there were seven ready for confirmation. Twenty-one log houses had been built at Hinman's encouragement so that Dakota families could begin farming. With the assistance of Hinman's first Dakota catechist, Paul Mazakute, the mission congregation continued to grow. Hinman also continued to acquire the language and dreamed of translating the *Book of Common Prayer* into Dakota. Meanwhile he compiled a service book, catechism, and hymn collection — "Dakota Church Service for the Mission of Saint John" — which would be published in Faribault in 1862. Revised by Hinman, it eventually became the *Niobrara Service Book*, and was used in Indian missions on several reservations.

At Whipple's first visit, Good Thunder asked if his daughter, Lydia, could go to Faribault to the school at the Associate Mission. Bishop Whipple rode away with the

Top: *Good Thunder, first adult Indian baptized by Whipple.*
Below: *The Rev. Samuel D. Hinman, missionary priest who followed the Dakota people to Fort Snelling and reservations in Nebraska.*



Above: *Chief Wabasha (Red Leaf), hereditary chief of the Dakota; reproduced by permission of the Minnesota State Historical Society.* Right: *Early painting of Bishop Whipple confirming Indian converts.*

twelve-year-old girl beside him in the carriage. But she had been a student at Andrews Hall only a short time when she became ill. Taken back to the Lower Agency, Lydia soon died. The Indians buried her in a prairie grave lined with wild roses, singing "Jesus, Lover of my Soul" in Dakota. After the funeral, Good Thunder told the Bishop that he wanted to become a Christian. He was the first adult Dakota to be baptized at the Lower Agency, and he would be Whipple's life-long friend.

Early in the summer of 1861, Dr. Daniels was removed from the reservation along with Joseph Brown, the Indian agent. The growing season of 1861 was disastrous, and the harvest failed. Troubles were surfacing.

In December Bishop Whipple visited the Mission a third time. He preached to a large congregation, and the service was in Dakota; a second service was held in English. He baptized and confirmed, and spoke of a church building. The government offered land, and the Dakota brought up the field stone.

In March, 1862, Whipple wrote to Abraham Lincoln, summarizing the dangers of the government's Indian policies. He was clear and concise. He called attention to the frauds in the treaty system, the destruction of the tribal structure and legal system, the political spoils system of appointing Indian agents, the evils of whiskey on the reservation; and he recommended the abandonment of cash annuities in favor of tools and education to make the Dakota self-supporting. Lincoln passed the letter on to the Secretary of the Interior, but the Bishop persisted, writing Lincoln again on April 10 and 16.

The Easter offering at Faribault was to be donated for the Lower Agency church building, and $70.00 was sent to Hinman. By July, 1862, they were ready to begin building. The Bishop laid the cornerstone on July 4th, baptized, confirmed, and celebrated the Eucharist. In the distance could be heard the chanting of a medicine man. During the summer the Dakota worked on the building under guard by the soldiers at the agency. Hostility on the reservation was intense.

THE CHURCH IN THE DAKOTA CONFLICT

By mid-summer, the reservation was near starvation. The Dakota who had assembled at the Upper and Lower Agencies for the June distribution waited through July and into August. It was late, first, because Congress was late in appropriating the

money and second, because the Treasury Department debated whether to use paper currency or gold coin.

At the Upper Agency, five thousand Dakota demanded food from the full warehouse. Thomas Galbraith, the new agent, reluctantly distributed some provisions on July 14. On August 4th, five-hundred Dakota broke into the warehouse. Between the soldiers on duty, the willingness of Galbraith to issue more pork and flour, and the arrival of Captain Marsh from Fort Ridgely, the Upper Sioux Dakota returned to their villages to wait.

At the Lower Agency, the Dakota had received some provisions in June. By early August, Chief Little Crow received the pledge of the agent for more provisions. When this promise was not kept, he asked for credit from the traders. It was denied. One of the storekeepers, Andrew Myrick, is said to have remarked, "If they are hungry, let them eat grass."

August 17th was Sunday. Little Crow attended services at the Mission House. The walls of the new church were finished but the roof was not completed. He shook hands all around after the service. That afternoon four Dakota, returning from a hunting expedition, came upon the Robinson Jones homestead at Acton. Triggered by a trivial incident over an egg, two white men, a white woman, and a child were killed. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the four Dakota stole horses and rode back to their village. These killings ignited the Dakota Conflict at the Lower Agency on August 18, 1862.

That same day Samuel Hinman was preparing to start for Faribault on church business. (Mrs. Hinman and their child had gone ahead.) In the Mission House, Emily West was finishing the breakfast dishes. Both heard shots fired. When they saw the Indians taking horses from the stable, armed and ready for battle, both ran towards the ferry. In the confusion they were separated. Whites were being gunned down all around them.

Emily West crossed the river with another woman and her two children. On the other side, they went up the bluff into the prairie grass. At one point, they were surrounded by four Dakota who recognized Miss West. They pointed the way to Fort Ridgely and shook hands. Settlers in a nearby house were killed as the two women continued on. At five in the afternoon they reached the Fort, exhausted and blistered from the twenty-mile walk. There Miss West found Mr. Hinman, who had come ahead of them by another route.

With hundreds of others, they remained at the fort ten days while it was under seige. On August 28th, when the auxiliary troops finally arrived from Fort Snelling, the missionaries went to St. Peter where they found Bishop Whipple tending the wounded in the hospital. He gave them his horse and carriage to return to Faribault.

At the reservation, some of those Dakota who were enrolled in the Mission School or home on summer vacation from Andrews Hall, together with some baptized adults, were killed. Others of them were taken captive.

The storekeeper, Andrew Myrick, was found dead after the attack on the warehouse, his mouth stuffed with grass.

During the conflict, which lasted until late September, those Dakota who identified with the Mission and with white culture saved the lives of many whites and mixed-bloods, warning them to escape, helping them at night to reach Fort Ridgely. They also appealed for the lives of baptized Dakota, as well as whites and mixed-bloods, who had been taken captive. They worked to reunite women and their children separated in the fray. Prominent among these heroic Christian Indians were Good Thunder and Taopi. Kin like Little Crow, of course, considered them traitors. However, as Gary Clayton Anderson has compellingly shown in *Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux* (Minnesota Historical Society, 1986), heroism was *not* limited to one side.

From Faribault, Cornelia wrote a letter to her daughter at St. Mary's Hall in Burlington, N.J., describing the carnage she had heard about:

August 24, 1862

My dear Jennie,

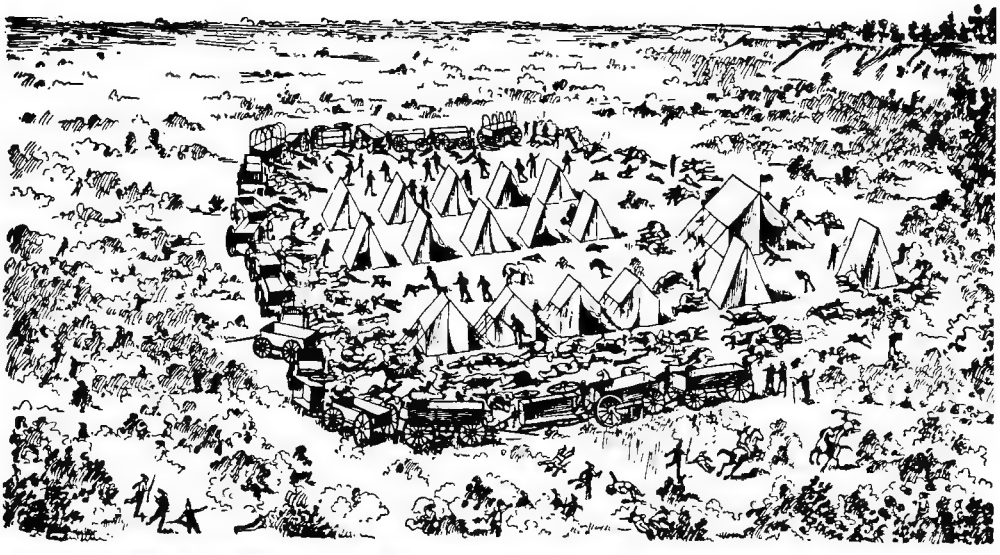
I am sorry to write you the Indian troubles are increasing. All the white people at the Upper and

Little Crow, Dakota spokesman and martyr in the 1862 Conflict — "greatest among the chiefs," according to C.M. Oehler: sketch drawn in 1851 by Frank Blackwell Mayer; reproduced by permission of the Minnesota State Historical Society.

Lower Agency have been butchered. We learned this afternoon that Mr. Hinman and Aunt Emily are saved. How they made their escape to Fort Ridgely, we cannot learn. The fort was surrounded by 2,000 Indians, no access to it. Mrs. Hinman is here. Large numbers of troops have been sent to their relief and hope to hear soon that the Indians have gone back to their own country. They have killed all the people we visited, when we were up there only a few weeks ago.
Your poor father feels very badly for he expects that all the good Christian Indians have been killed. You remember Frank Robertson and his mother. The whole family have been killed. The Scout who went out and discovered all this was Major Galbraith's interpreter. He was dressed in disguise as an Indian. He found Major Galbraith's wife and children all murdered at Yellow Medicine. He is in the Fort and does not know it yet. Is it not horrible! He went to Mr. Brown's house, Sammy's father, and recognized all the family, 18 in number, all dead upon the floor. Poor Sammy, he was a good boy and felt anxious to become a missionary, among the red men. News is coming every few hours and we hope to hear they are driven back. The whites say that no Indian shall live in Minnesota. They will shoot every blanketed Indian they come to. I cannot say when we shall leave here now, will keep you informed. Hewitt is with Mr. Hinman. Lizzie is writing Mrs. _____. You must keep good courage. We shall see you in a few weeks I hope.

Your loving,
Mother[1]

Sketch of the Battle of Birch Coulee; reproduced by permission of the Minnesota State Historical Society.



[1]This letter is quoted from Betty Scandrette Oehler's monograph *Bishop Whipple: Friend of the Indian* (Minnesota Historical Society Archive); blank is for an illegible name.

One Historian on the Dakota Conflict of 1862

C.M. Oehler described the Conflict as "the bloodiest Indian massacre the West ever knew ... with four times the fatalities of Custer's tragedy." He added, "Most of its victims were unarmed civilians ... Dwarfed by even grimmer events of the Civil War's second year, the Minnesota outbreak got little attention."*

About treaties he wrote: "Probably there was nothing inherently evil or unfair about the treaties of 1851 and 1858, if one accepted the inevitability that North America some day would be occupied in the main by Europeans and their descendants. But the manner in which the terms of the treaties were fulfilled was an altogether different matter. It was *this* that caused Indian indignation and left no room for white pride."

"Whenever annuities or any other funds were to be paid, a yelling swarm of traders, fur company representatives, half-breeds, lobbyists, advisers, ex-agents, and petty opportunists appeared, demanding part or all of the money. 'You owe me nine dollars for sugar,' 'Eighteen for pork,' 'Ten for lard,' they would shout, and nobody, least of all the Indians, could produce any records to prove otherwise."**

—from *The Great Sioux Uprising* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959; reprinted with permission) *p. vii. **p. 13, italics added.

For over a month the conflict continued. Settlements and farmsteads were attacked and burned, the settlers killed or taken captive. Whites fleeing for refuge in hiding places or Fort Ridgely were ambushed and slaughtered. The Dakota also suffered heavy loss of life, the numbers unknown because their deaths were not counted or recorded. Their inexperience at organized warfare, and discord among Dakota leaders, eventually spelled their defeat. After the initial attacks on the Lower and Upper Sioux Agencies, the major battles — at New Ulm, at Birch Coulee, at Forest City, Hutchinson, and Acton, at Fort Abercrombie, and at Wood Lake — were bloody and confused. The Dakota were well aware that many white soldiers were away in the South at war with one another. By mid-September both the Dakota people and the whites who survived were near starvation.

On September 26, 1862, the Dakota chief, Red Iron, surrendered to Col. Henry Sibley at what became known as Camp Release. Little Crow and other leaders, however, continued to fight. Along with Standing Buffalo, Wabasha, Good Thunder, Taopi, and Mazakute, Chief Red Iron wanted to make peace and free the prisoners who had been gathered into the camp. At Camp Release, 269 whites and mixed-bloods were handed over to Sibley, most of them women and children. In the next few days, nearly two thousand Dakota were taken into custody, and food was secured from the ruins of the Upper Agency. The mass trial of Dakota began at Sibley's Camp Release headquarters. During October the trials were moved to a log house remaining at the Lower Agency. On November 5th, the commissioners completed their work, reviewing and sentencing as many as forty a day, some with only a five-minute hearing. The commission had tried 392 prisoners, sentenced 307 to death, given 16 prison terms, and released the rest.

The trials were a travesty of justice. The white citizens of Minnesota, however, demanded the extermination of all Dakota who had participated in the conflict and the removal of the rest from the state. The Indians were caught up in a legal system they did not understand. In the end, 303 Dakota were condemned to die. They were moved from the Lower Agency to Camp Lincoln to await execution. On the way, whites in New Ulm stoned the shackled prisoners, and at Camp Lincoln, Mankato citizens attempted to lynch them. On December 5th they were moved to a log building at Mankato.

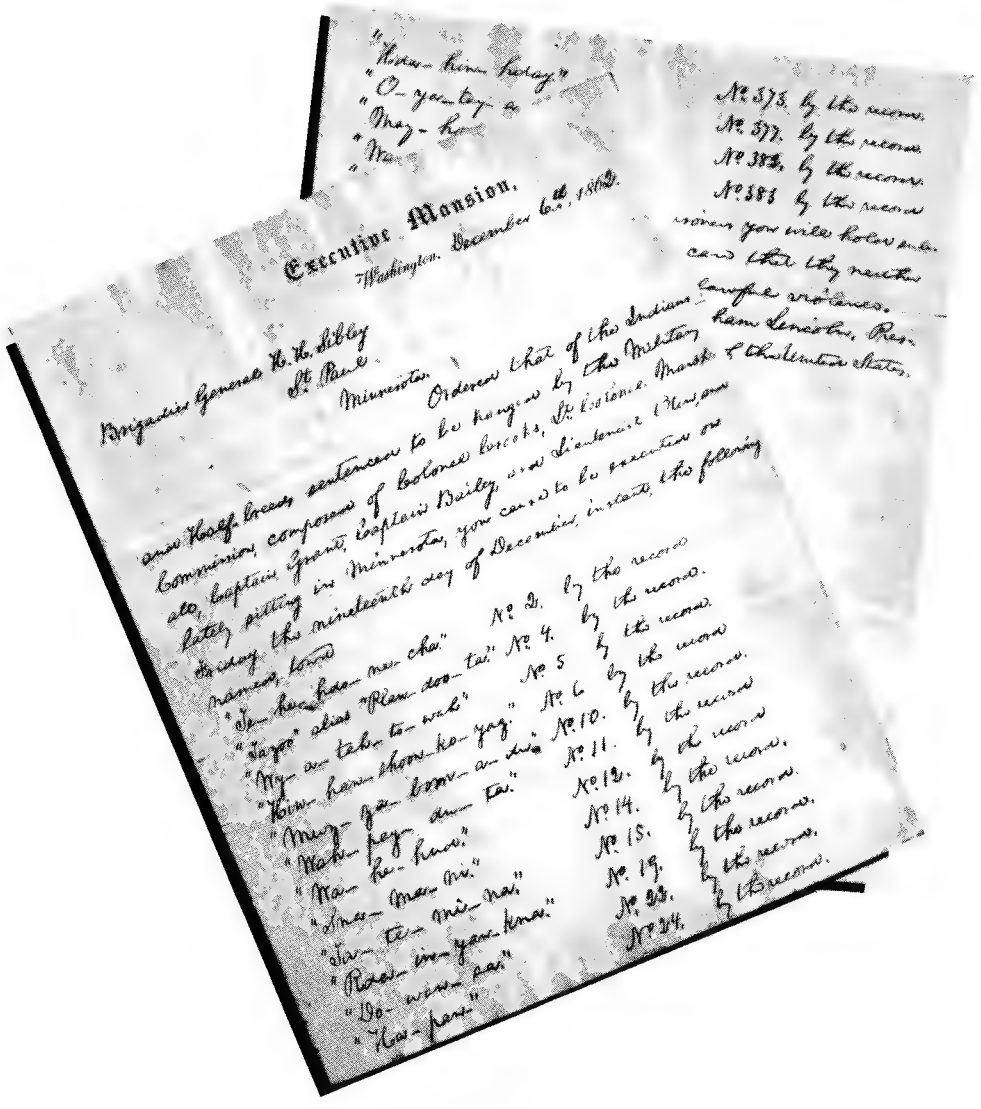
The rest of the 1,700 Dakota were taken to Fort Snelling and impounded during the winter in the valley below the fort.

In the face of mob demands for the immediate execution of the prisoners at Mankato, Bishop Whipple went to Washington, D.C. to protest the illegality of the trials. He had gone to President Buchanan two years earlier on behalf of the Indian and had returned with a desperate feeling that there would be no help from a government about to be torn in two by civil war. Now he would appeal to President Lincoln.

The General Convention of the Church met in New York that autumn, which Whipple attended briefly before going to Washington. He is said to have impressed President Lincoln with the vivid account he drew of the Dakota conflict. It confirmed the President's fear that the Union would have to fight on two fronts. Lincoln repeatedly pledged, "This Indian system shall be reformed" — but in the meantime, the war against the South had to be won. Sick at heart, Bishop Whipple returned to the General Convention where one of the bishops read the paper Whipple had prepared, and asked its author not to bring politics into the House of Bishops. Bishop Whipple, holding the hand swollen with infection he had received caring for the wounded at St. Peter, replied angrily, "My diocese is desolated by Indian war; eight hundred of our people are dead, and I have just come from a hospital of wounded and dying. I asked one of my brothers to sign this paper and he responds by calling it 'politics.' "

The Bishop of Pennsylvania, Alonzo Potter, came to his support. "My dear Minnesota, give me the paper. I will get it signed, and will go to Washington with Bishop McIlvaine and present it."

It was signed by a total of 39 bishops, priests, and laymen. Bishop Whipple's efforts had their effect. On December 6, President Lincoln disappointed many white Minnesotans by approving death sentences for *only* 39 of the 303 prisoners. He personally wrote out their names and sent them to Sibley.


Executive Mansion.
Washington, December 6th, 1862.
Brigadier General H. H. Sibley
St. Paul
Minnesota
Ordered that of the Indians
sentenced to be hanged by the Military
Commission, composed of Colonel Lucas, St. Lieutenant Colonel
also, Captain Grant, Captain Bailey, and Lieutenant
Marsh & Charlestown States,
Sioux, the nineteenth day of December, instant, the following
named, to wit
"Je-ke-hee-nee-cha" No. 2. by the record
"Sagee" alias "Flam-doo-tai" No. 4. by the record
"Ma-za-tah-to-wah" No. 5 by the record
"Hin-han-shon-ka-yag" No. 6 by the record
"Ma-za-bom-a-dan" No. 10. by the record
"Ma-hpee-a-dan-ta" No. 11. by the record
"Ma-he-hpee" No. 12. by the record
"Ma-za-mee" No. 14. by the record
"Cha-ta-mee-nan" No. 15. by the record
"Ho-Rees-in-yan-kma" No. 19. by the record
"Do-wee-nan" No. 23. by the record
"Ka-pan" No. 24. by the record

Names of the 39 Dakota warriors ultimately condemned to die, written in President Lincoln's own hand; reproduced by permission of the Minnesota State Historical Society.

The execution took place on December 26, 1862. In Mankato a gallows was constructed where all would hang at once. Fourteen hundred soldiers were mustered to keep order. The streets were crowded with onlookers. The drums and the death chant of the Dakota accompanied the men to the gallows, and the nooses were placed around their necks. The soldiers began the measured drum roll as hoods were fitted over the men's heads. As the rope was cut and the bodies swung free, the white crowd cheered until the Indians hung quiet. They were buried in a single grave near the riverfront — only to be dug up later for anatomical study.

While Bishop Whipple was appealing the cause of the Dakota in Washington and New York, Mr. Hinman had stayed with his congregation. He went with them into the compound at Fort Snelling. There he continued regular services and teaching. The congregation grew from twenty to three hundred, with another three hundred children under instruction. At his first baptism at Fort Snelling, 52 adults and 92 children were christened during a single service. In March, Bishop Whipple confirmed 47 in the church at Mendota. They offered him medicine bags, spears, and battle axes as symbols of their renunciation of their old life. At the end of April, Whipple again visited the compound, baptizing thirty adults, confirming 108, and administering Communion to 150. Missionaries of other denominations were also busy at the fort. But the public press was outraged. "Holiest Rites of the Church Given to Red-handed Murderers!" read one headline.

Teepees of Dakota prisoners at Fort Snelling in the winter following the Conflict of 1862; reproduced by permission of the Minnesota State Historical Society.

In the midst of disease, privation, malnutrition, and cold in the winter of 1862-63, many of the Dakota became praying, hymn-singing Christians. Meanwhile, their reservations and their annuities were being confiscated by the government. In the spring, all Dakota at Fort Snelling, as well as those not executed at Mankato, were to be relocated on "unoccupied lands adapted for agriculture, beyond the limits of any state." Congress appropriated funds to transport them by river steamer down the Mississippi and up the Missouri to Fort Thompson, in what is now central South Dakota.

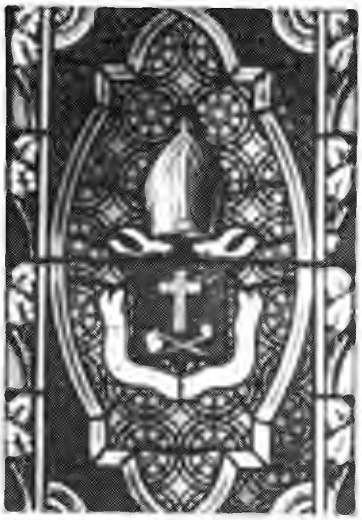
In May, 1863, Hinman boarded the *Davenport* with 770 Dakota for St. Louis. There they were transferred to another steamer and taken to St. Joseph, where they were joined by 547 Dakota who had left Fort Snelling earlier, accompanied by John Williamson, a Presbyterian missionary. Both groups were crowded into one steamer and taken to the Crow Creek Reservation. There they were let out in a virtual desert. In June, the Minnesota Winnebagos were also impounded and sent by railroad car and steamer to Crow Creek. Without adequate food, clothing, or shelter, over 1,000 died — 600 of them children. Smallpox took the greatest toll.

Hinman stayed with his congregation. By 1864, he had built two log churches — without boards, nails, or glass. One seated 300, the other 500. And competition with the Presbyterians continued.

In 1866, the Dakota were resettled on the new Santee Reservation. Hinman again went with his congregation. He built a mission house, church, and school at Santee, and trained Dakota catechists, who were ordained deacons by the Bishop of Nebraska, R.H. Clarkson. (He had been Whipple's mentor when he went to Chicago as a parish priest.) The *Dakota Service Book* of 1862 was edited and expanded. When all the mission buildings were destroyed by a tornado in 1870, Hinman had them completely rebuilt. Serving as archdeacon of the Indian work in Nebraska and Dakota until 1873, he eventually saw the area become a separate ethnic jurisdiction of the Episcopal Church – The Niobrara. The House of Bishops, however, appointed Henry Hobart Hare as Bishop — not Hinman — and a bitter rivalry ensued.

THE INDIAN COLONY AT FARIBAULT

Bishop Whipple had plans for some of the Dakota to resettle in Faribault after their release from Fort Snelling. Clearly the "friendly Indians" were stuck on the horns of a dilemma. In the eyes of most of their people they were traitors. In the eyes of most of



Top: *Detail of a window in the Cathedral showing the seal of the Diocese, a gift to Bishop Whipple from Christian Indians.* Below: *Beaded stole made by the wife of Chief Flatmouth for Whipple (Ojibwa, circa 1875, in the collection of the Minnesota D.A.R.); and knife sheath (Ojibwa, circa 1885, in the Shattuck-St. Mary's collection). Both reproduced by permission of the Science Museum of Minnesota.*

Bishop Whipple: The Indian Question

Throughout his long episcopate the first Bishop of Minnesota campaigned for the rights of Native Americans. His first interest, of course, was for the Indian people of his own diocese, but this concern soon grew to embrace "the brown children of Our Father" wherever they suffered. He served on federal commissions, acted as counselor to chiefs of numerous tribes, helped negotiate treaties — but mostly he wrote. Often he had to stand alone, but his single-minded witness could not long be ignored. One eminent historian, W.W. Manross, dates the awakening of a social conscience in the Episcopal Church from the petition Whipple presented in the House of Bishops in 1862 — a document addressed to President Lincoln. The letters and reports that Whipple wrote were long and detailed; today their language may seem quaint, convoluted, even somewhat racist and sexist — which is only to say that the Bishop was a man of his own time.

The following excerpt, which is remarkably simple and direct, summarizes the problem as Bishop Whipple saw it and the solution that he advocated:

"The theory seems to be that a savage people, emerging from heathenism, are such models of propriety that they can get along without government, while white men cannot get along without law ... Manhood cannot be preserved without individual rights of property ... An Indian gives up the war path; he has his hair cut; he builds a house; he tills the land, and plants a crop; a savage insults his wife, destroys his crop or kills his cow. He has no redress. He can fall back on his savage hatred and kill the transgressor. But we have taught him this is wrong.

"The law does not regard an Indian as a man. An Indian kills another Indian ...it has happened again and again in Minnesota; no questions are asked. If a foreigner had killed another foreigner, we would hang him for killing another human being. 'Hole-in-the-Day', the head chief of the Chippewas, was an American citizen. He was murdered in broad day; the murderers were known to hundreds, but not the slightest effort was made to arrest the guilty. As the Government does not protect the Indians, white men have no respect for their rights. ...

"The Indian question will not be silent. Thoughtful men are beginning to feel that we must meet it in the fear of God ... We should aim at three things: 1. We must break up their wandering, savage habits by paying them a just price ... placing them on reservations which shall be guaranteed to them and their children forever. 2. We must give them individual rights of property, and protection to person, property, and life. 3. We must add to this God's best gift, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which changed our own brutal Saxon fathers into manly Christian men. With these reforms we shall have a peace policy worthy of a Christian people ..."

—from the Faribault *Republican and the Faribault Democrat*, June 18 and 30, respectively, 1873; reprinted from the *New York Evening Post*

the whites, whom they had helped to save, they were Indians — and the only good Indian, no matter how good, was a dead Indian. Almost immediately, D.O. Brown, editor of the Faribault *Central Republican*, the rabidest anti-Indian paper in the state, began campaigning for the ultimate solution: "The Indians must be driven to their holes in the Rocky Mountains and exterminated, or Minnesota must go to ruin and the tide of barbarism thenceforth follow eastward!"[5] By comparison, the policy of internment and deportation must have seemed liberal indeed.

[5]Sept. 10, 1862. Brown was infamous throughout Minnesota for his fulminations, not only against Indians but also against the South. Far and wide he was called "Awful Brown" and "the Faribault Fire-Eater."

In the spring of 1863, Governor Sibley told Whipple that the "friendlies" would have to be sent away with the rest: "the people will never consent to have a Sioux remain in Minnesota." But the Bishop, not knowing where he would get the money to provide for them, asked permission to take these Christian Indians home with him. Under Whipple's protection and through the generosity of Alexander Faribault, a small Dakota colony would live (if not always thrive) on the bluff above the Straight for over thirty years.

Alexander Faribault donated about twenty acres of his farm (on the present site of the Regional Center). He did so at some risk, for as Roy Meyer remarks in his *History of the Santee Sioux*, "Only Faribault's reputation in the town named for him enabled him to so defy public opinion ... As it was, he was threatened ..."[6] — as was Bishop Whipple. A letter from the old fur trader in the June 10, 1863, *Central Republican* insisted that rumors about his "harboring a large number of guilty Indians at his place" were untrue. Prominent among the names that he listed were Taopi and the wife and mother of Good Thunder. The letter concluded, "If the citizens of Faribault are not disposed to protect these 'friends of the whites,' all I ask is that they may not be molested, but that I have time to notify Gen. Sibley and have them removed ..."

The story of Taopi is particularly pathetic. He had not only been chief of a Mdewakantan village of "farmer Indians" before the 1862 Conflict; he was also in line to succeed Little Crow, the leader of that catastrophe.[7] He always carried this note:

The bearer, Taopi ("wounded man") is entitled to the everlasting gratitude of the American people for having, with other Christian Indians, during the late outbreak, saved the lives of nearly two hundred white women and children.

H.H. Sibley
Colonel Commanding

Many cared little, however, for such heroism. Alexander Faribault, in a public letter quoted Taopi:

I hear that white men say they will kill me ... Tell them not to shoot me like a dog, but to send for me to go to the public square, and I will show them how a man can die.

Taopi was not killed, but within a few years he would die, in extreme poverty, a nearly-broken man. Yet in his last minutes, he was able to say to the Bishop, "I am not afraid to go. Jesus has walked in the trail before me. I shall not be lonesome on the road."[8] Here was an answer to the many who considered the Indian incapable of either Christianity or "civilization"!

Life in the colony in the early days was hard. Crops were meagre, and the old blankets and buffalo skins were badly worn. Because they had not gone to the reservation, the Faribault Indians became ineligible for Federal annuities. Between 1863 and 1866, Alexander Faribault spent nearly $4,000 out of his own pocket, and even that proved insufficient. But conditions were far worse farther west:

As an illustration of the extremites to which the Indians were reduced, one of the soldiers who accompanied the first relief expedition reported on his return to Mankato that the squaws were picking half-digested kernels of grain out of horse manure and boiling them up for soup ... So desperate did the exiles become that some fled across the prairies in midwinter and arrived, half-starved and nearly frozen, at Faribault, having eaten nothing but roots dug from the frozen ground along the way.[9]

Gradually, however, life in the colony improved. Twenty years later the Faribault *Democrat* ran this glowing report:

Here in Faribault there are a number of Indian families, who have comfortable homes, and clothed in garments of civilization, provide for themselves as do their white neighbors. They are all faithful Christians and every Sunday, no matter what the weather, finds them in their places in the Cathedral ...[10]

Clearly some allowance must be made for hyperbole, yet it can also be said that there had been a real measure of success.

Bishop Whipple liked to talk about the natural reverence of Native Americans, and certainly the influence of religion permeated the Faribault colony. Taopi's wife, for example, in a letter to the Bishop, refers matter-of-factly to daily prayers. And no less a

Taopi

[6]Roy W. Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980 ed.), p. 260
[7]*Ibid.* note, p. 137
[8]Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, pp. 134-135.
[9]Meyer, p. 148
[10]June 27, 1884.

Top left: *Henry Whipple St. Clair as a Shattuck student and,* below, *as a young clergyman.* Right: *Sketch by Reuben St. Clair, Morton: the scene, as he imagined it, into which his father was born in 1869; reproduced by permission of the* Redwood Gazette.

An Unusual Birth

"His mother stood all alone on a shooting stand when Henry Whipple St. Clair was born on a little Indian reservation near Faribault. The infant, later to become an Episcopal minister, was her first and only child.

"This is what the pastor's son, Reuben St. Clair of Morton, recalled when many people gathered in a memorial program for the Rev. [Mr.] St. Clair at Bishop Whipple mission Sunday. His mother, Mrs. George St. Clair, whose husband was also a minister to his people, was on the stand, a box-covered structure about 10 feet high, to protect the field of corn underneath from passenger pigeons.

"All the others in the Rice County community had gone [up north] ricing.

"She used a muzzle-loader with just the charge to frighten away the pigeons, who could clean out a field of grain in just minutes.

"When the others returned, they took her and the baby down from the platform. The date was July 30, 1859.

"Reuben recalled tales his grandmother told him about the pigeons.

"Flying by the thousands, they would blot out the sun. Where they roosted, trees and the vegetation below would be killed. Their cooing at night kept people awake for two or three hours before they were silent. Early in the morning, when they left the roost, they made a sound like that of a tornado.

"In the evenings, the Indians would take long sticks and knock them to the ground, as they were excellent eating.

"The natives called them a plague — one that their descendants don't have visited on them. That species of birds is extinct.

—*Redwood Gazette*, June 30, 1970, p. 1, article and illustration reprinted with permission.

personage than Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote about discovering two girls in a teepee singing a psalm in the Dakota tongue.[11] On "the Praying-Day," the Indians filled the benches in the back of the Cathedral — called "squaw pews" to this day.[12] Often in the afternoon the Whipples would invite them to their home for a service and refreshments. At Christmas there were gifts. As one gesture of appreciation, the Indian women did an annual house-cleaning in the Cathedral, and it was said that afterwards the windows "shone like a jewel in the sun." The Bishop himself christened many of the children over the years, and it should perhaps not be surprising that "Whipple" was a common middle-name! One family especially stands out — the St. Clairs. The Rev. George Whipple St. Clair would have a long ministry as deacon at the Lower Agency mission; his son, the Rev. Henry Whipple St. Clair — the first Dakota ordained priest in the Diocese, in 1904 — would serve both at the mission and in South Dakota; and Reuben St. Clair would carry on the tradition until his death in 1985.

[11] Meyer, p. 266. Emerson, who visited Faribault in January, 1867, was disappointed that the Indians used "not birch-bark nor pine-knot, but a kerosene lamp!"

[12] *Squaw*, according to the Rev. Philip Allen, a Native American priest of this diocese, is not a Dakota word; it was and is considered derogatory by the Dakota. It is, however, a historic fact that the term "squaw pews" has been used from time immemorial at the Cathedral. It is generally believed that the Indian men *stood* in back and along the sides during services.

In 1895 the Faribault Indians moved to the Lower Agency. About ten years earlier Good Thunder had left the settlement at Flandrau, S.D., and returned to his ancestral home. Others followed suit, including the remarkable white priest who followed his people wherever they went, Samuel D. Hinman. Bishop Whipple had hopes of establishing *one* "model Christian community" for Indians in Minnesota — at the Lower Agency. His plan, however, could never be fully realized, for small colonies continued at Prairie Island (near Red Wing) and at Shakopee. Nevertheless, as Meyer remarks, the Lower Agency would "achieve a measure of prosperity and stability beyond any of the other Sioux communities."[13] Mr. Hinman probably did not have to try very hard to convince the Faribault colony to move, for in town and at church, despite the real love of the Bishop and the late Cornelia and a few others, they were really only on the fringe.

Eastern Dakota crucifix made of Catlinite, circa 1900, that belonged to Bishop Whipple (now in the Minnesota D.A.R. collection). Reproduced by permission of the Science Museum of Minnesota.

The Indians in Church

One of the earliest graduates of St. Mary's Hall remembered many years later how the Indians had worshipped at the Cathedral on Sundays:

"The little Christian Indian colony had always hovered about the background in Faribault, but only the Whipples and a few like them knew them individually or took any interest in them. It made me sad to see them, and I shirked any contact, but now and then paused at the church door to notice some bright-eyed papoose on its mother's back, and ask its name — which was always that of some member of the Bishop's family. And sometimes it struck me that something was wrong when they shuffled meekly up to the altar after it was quite certain that there were no more whites to [receive Communion]. There *is* something wrong, but it is not for me to say."

—Margaretta Brown Byrde, *Saint Mary's Fifty Years Ago*, p. 69. [There is good evidence, however, that Bishop Whipple once surprised the congregation by having the Indians come up to the Lord's Table *first* - Deaconess Eleanor Pielmeyer heard the story from Mary Webster Whipple, and Sister Pielmeyer told it to Dean Winkler.]

In 1886, Hinman had returned to the Lower Agency. His mission at the Santee reservation had been saddened by the death of his wife ten years earlier and thwarted by continuing personal disagreements with Bishop Hare. That conflict involved a libel suit and suspension from priestly functions. Furthermore, Hare refused to transfer him officially to Minnesota.

At the Lower Agency, Hinman was received by Good Thunder, who had returned to farm. Hinman promptly built a house for his second wife and family, with a room for a school and church, and began work once again. Still under suspension until 1887, he was hired by Whipple as a teacher. In 1887, Good Thunder gave Whipple twenty acres in trust for a church, school, and burial ground. Two years later the need for a church prompted the congregation to dismantle the building started in 1862 but never completed. From some three miles distant, the stones, bricks, and timbers were carried to the new location. There it was reconstructed exactly as it had been planned before the Dakota Conflict.

In March, 1890, Samuel Hinman died after a brief attack of pneumonia. He was buried beside the not-yet-completed church. On July 16, 1891, Whipple consecrated the building. The name urged upon him by Good Thunder was St. Cornelia's Church, after the Bishop's wife who had also died the previous year.

THE CATHEDRAL'S MISSION AND THE INDIANS

All of these episodes about missionary involvement with the Indians may seem like a digression from the story of the Faribault Cathedral but they are not. Popular opinion toward the Indian was hostile: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." In 1860,

[13]Meyer, p. 287.

Group in front of the Morton Mission (1896 or later) — left to right: *Robert Hinman, Charles Goodthunder, the Rev. Henry St. Clair, Sibyl Carter, Evangeline Whipple, Bishop Whipple, Susan Salisbury, Chief Alfred Goodthunder (who gave land for the church), Sam Wells, and George Crooks. (Two lurking in far left corner unidentified).*

when Hinman began at the Lower Agency, the cornerstone of the Cathedral building had not yet been laid. But the Associate Mission — at least in the mind of James Lloyd Breck — embodied the Cathedral *idea*. In 1862, just before the Dakota Conflict erupted, work on the Cathedral building began. The Cathedral — even before it was finished — was the Bishop's Church and therefore reflected his policy. And so the Episcopal community in Faribault provided sanctuary and a home for the Indians. If the *Parish* had been able to determine its own stance, it probably would have followed prevailing attitudes. The Divinity School, as a part of the Cathedral establishment, also carried out the Bishop's will. And so, it is not surprising that a volunteer like Samuel Hinman, who had been working with the Dakota at Faribault and was learning their language, would offer himself to the Bishop to work in his behalf at the Lower Agency.[14] Hinman and his family were given financial support, pastoral care, and hospitality by the Bishop and Mission community of the Cathedral. At the Lower Agency, as at Faribault, learning and religion went hand in hand in the language of the people. Hinman respected their tribal structure and helped to preserve their folklore. Only when their actions touched violence, or whiskey, or the old Dakota religion, was there sharp denunciation.

In 1874, the "Chief Missionary" told his diocesan convention, "My pity for the Indian race has given me a great deal of care and has cost me some very dear friends, but it is the only part of my Bishop's life where I have never had a doubt as to my duty."[15]

The times were indeed troublesome, but the Mission community at Faribault was characterized by faith and hope. An "Office of Devotion" written by James Lloyd Breck at Nashotah in 1841 was used by the Mission, and in the devastations of 1862 its phrases still rang true:

V. Bless, O Lord, Thy Spouse, the Holy Catholic Church.
R. And evermore mightily defend her.
V. Deliver her from strange doctrines, heresies, and schisms.
R. And bless her with truth, unity, and concord.
V. Deliver her when she is in danger.
R. And restore her where she is laid waste.
V. Bring back those who have wandered from her Fold.
R. And may all the Kingdoms of the world become the Kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ.[16]

RETROSPECT: BRECK'S ACHIEVEMENTS AT FARIBAULT

When he wrote *Lights and Shadows* over thirty years later, Bishop Whipple would recall that in the midst of the Dakota Conflict, Dr. Breck, believing that the Church's missionaries were murdered, had said from the chancel that Indian missions were a failure. Whipple wrote:

... It came to me as the last drop in the cup of anguish. I came forward and said to the people: — "Our Indian missions cannot *be a failure, for if our missionaries are murdered, my young diocese will have the honor of writing in its history the names of martyrs for Christ!"*

[14]Dr. Breck understood that the work at the Lower Agency was *directly* linked with the work at Faribault. When he and the Bishop visited the Dakota there the first time, Breck wrote, "St. John the Baptist's Day found *the Bishop Seabury Mission* in the Wilderness, preaching the Gospel ..." [C. Breck, p. 377]. Soon afterwards, Hinman was sent to carry on the work.

[15]Diocesan Convention address, *Faribault Democrat*, June 19, 1874, p. 1.

[16]C. Breck p. 533; the entire "Office" is given in the appendix of that book, pp. 523ff.

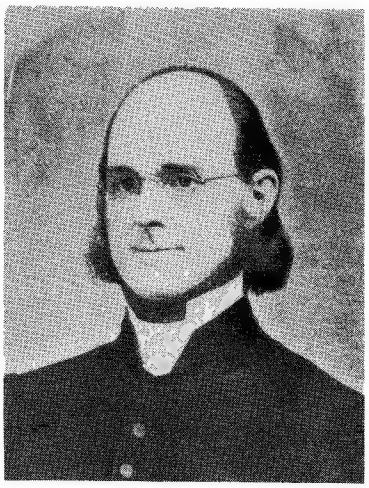
I could say no more. With a heart of lead I sat in my study a few hours when brave Manney came in to see me. With tears of agony I said: — "Manney, it is not failure! We must not give up hope!" "You are right, Bishop," came the quiet answer. "There is no failure! All we have to do is sow the seed; you have done that, and in his own good time God will permit you to see the harvest."[17]

Yet considering all that Breck had willingly endured at Kesagah before fleeing for his life, his statement must have had extraordinary force — James Lloyd Breck was not one to give up easily. And even if he knew he was wrong, Breck was not the sort to admit it.

At least one well-known historian of the Church thinks that this scene may have been the beginning of the end of Breck's and Whipple's relationship.[18] There seems to be no conclusive evidence, but whether or not the theory is right, it would not be long until Breck would start to consider moving on. The death of Mrs. Breck six months earlier had been a severe blow. Early in 1862 her sickness had grown so serious that Breck took her to St. Paul in a covered sleigh — a three-day trip. Week by week her condition worsened, and having asked to be buried beside their two adopted Ojibwa girls, she said, "Come, Lord Jesus" and breathed her last. Then he followed the horse-drawn hearse the sixty miles back to Faribault where his two small sons met him, unaware that their mother was dead, full of questions and too young to understand. To Charles Breck he had written, "The last of the brothers to marry, I am the first to be *taken away* from my second self. *Separation by death* was always so distant to my mind as to seem impossible ..." The same year he lost his uncle Samuel (who had raised him) and a nephew named after himself. Two years later he married Miss Sarah Styles of St. Louis, and it must have been about this time that he submitted a resignation to the Bishop. Whipple refused to consider it. For three years he would refuse.[19]

According to Charles Breck, by 1866 "the old longing to push once more to the distant frontier became irresistible." In the spring of that year another calamity befell Dr. Breck — the old Mission House burned. It had been his first and only home in Faribault. Now the Brecks lost everything. A burned scrap of an old sermon lay in the ashes — it read, "These men were steadfast in their profession of the true God *in the midst of the burning fiery furnace.*" Breck certainly had been steadfast at Faribault: he had worked there longer than in any other field. Temporarily he and his family moved in with the Whipples. Then at Whitsuntide the trustees of the Seabury Mission announced that he would become Dean of all the schools. Soon he was not only "setting things in order " — he was also "devising liberal things."[20] Within the month the cornerstone of the Shattuck Grammar School would be laid; but within the year he would be on his way to California to establish yet another Associate Mission.

In June, 1867, James Lloyd Breck stood before the Diocesan Convention to say farewell and preach his last sermon in Minnesota. He spoke of many things, but *discipline* was his theme. It had characterized all his work, as his hearers well knew. He was heartened by a growing appreciation of "the beauty of holiness" in the Church's worship, but this must be deepened with study, prayer and fasting, and especially by more devout preparation before Communion. He spoke also of the nature of the Church and what must be done to revitalize it. The Protestant Episcopal Church is *not* just a national church within Anglicanism or a mere denomination — it is a *catholic* church and so must embrace every nationality, language, and economic class within society. The Church, he said, is not only catholic in the sense of being universal; it is also catholic in being one throughout history, through Apostolic Succession. Bishops —"the chief missionaries" — are essential in the Church's mission. They cannot do all the work by themselves; nor can other missionaries, working alone. A cathedral, rightly understood, is not so much a grand edifice housing a bishop's chair — "it is *the association of laborers* in all Churchly work." "It does not depend on what that seat is made of, whether [the bishop] can be seated there." Cathedrals, in themselves, cannot keep the Church alive — witness the empty cathedrals of England, "a mockery of what they once were." They must become *Associate Missions* again! Now, he said, a quarter century after the founding of the first modern Associate Mission, at Nashotah House, the American Church is finally beginning to accept the idea.[21]



The Rev. Dr. James Lloyd Breck, Dean of the schools of the Bishop Seabury Mission in 1867.

[17]p. 492.
[18]William P. Haugaard, "Missionary Vision in America: James Lloyd Breck in Minnesota," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Sept., 1985, pp. 249-251. (The author teaches at Seabury-Western.)
[19]This information comes not from Breck but from Whipple, in his address to the 1867 Diocesan Convention.
[20]Breck did not elaborate on these "liberal things;" "setting things in order," however, suggests there had been problems in the schools. Perhaps a line in the announcement of Breck's appointment provides a clue: "It is not our desire to establish schools to care for vicious and depraved boys, nor will we hazard the well-being of others by receiving such as pupils ..." (C. Breck, p. 426.) It is a strange line to find in this sort of announcement and would not have appeared gratuitously.
[21]The text of the entire sermon is in C. Breck, pp. 536-555. Most of the early cathedrals of the Episcopal Church did have schools (though not divinity schools) attached to them; however they do not seem to have involved a mission network like the one developed at Faribault. Many of the later cathedrals were large city churches, with few of the characteristics of an Associate Mission.

Throughout Dr. Breck's tenure, the Church in Faribault continued to grow. In his last year, 1867, there were 171 families and 728 "souls" in its care (569 baptized, 250 confirmed), *not* counting boarding students in the schools. Three thousand dollars had been raised during the previous twelve months, he reported, for completion of the Cathedral building, which would become the Parish's new home. For such accomplishments Faribault and the Parish were grateful. The women of the Sisterhood gave him a gold watch, worth $150. The congregation took up a collection, which Breck said he would use to buy a bell for his new mission. The local newspaper published a glowing tribute, and one man — not an Episcopalian — praised Breck's "sacrificial work among the poor and the sick." The Bishop, in his parting letter, wrote, "My first interest in this Western field, as well as for the perishing Red Man, grew out of my interests in your ventures of faith in this Missionary work ..."[22] Nine years later, in 1876, within a month of Breck's death, Whipple would say that, whatever his success in California, it had been a "mistake" for Breck to leave Faribault. And many years later he would call Breck "a sanguine, believing man," "the best of pastors," and "a rare shepherd"; "in some elements of character he was one of the greatest men I have known."[23]

Yet one comment, made thirty years after Breck's departure by long-time Senior Warden A.E. Haven, hints that there may have been more to the story: "When Dr. Breck laid down his work here, or rather surrendered it to other hands, his people felt that they were losing their best, if not their only friend ..."[24] The word *surrendered* could be interpreted to mean that he did not leave entirely of his own will. Pioneer members of the Parish, however, would have been better able than we are to sense Mr. Haven's intent.

In any case, Breck and his family were ready to set out. The Rev. Enoch Cowan, one of the earliest graduates of the Divinity School, would accompany them in the new venture and serve as a direct link with the Faribault Associate Mission. Friends everywhere were sending felicitations — but not money. Breck lacked funds even to leave. By the end of June, $500 from an unknown lady in Paris arrived, making it possible for them to go to New York. On the way he was able to raise some money for the journey west. He chose Benicia as the site for the new work. Hardly a household name today, Benicia at the time was a thriving railroad center — it had even been the capital of California for two years, before Sacramento was finally picked. In this new setting just north of San Francisco, Breck's fourth Associate Mission would follow the pattern of Faribault — except that apparently it would never involve a plan for a *cathedral.* Breck would enjoy similar success — and similar financial problems;[25] and there on March 30, 1876, he would die, "literally worn out with work." Twenty years later his remains would be brought back to Nashotah for permanent burial as 14 bishops and over two hundred other clergy looked on.

ALMOST FINISHED AND PAID FOR

It took two full years after James Lloyd Breck's departure from Faribault to finish the Cathedral — and technically, according to the custom of the Church, the building could not be consecrated until everything had been paid for. But, in the Bishop's words, "When we had means we worked; when we had none we waited on GOD in prayer." The building could be used for worship, however, even though a few details remained to be finished.

On May 16, 1869, Whitsunday, the first service was held in the "nearly completed" building, and 15 were baptized. Bishop Whipple said that he had "looked forward with fear and trembling" to that day. On June 9, two weeks before the consecration, the Diocesan Convention met for the first time in the Cathedral. Although it had been impossible to erect the "cross-capped spire" of 165 feet that the architect had planned, the Bishop, with evident pride and loving detail, described the building and its many memorials.[26]

Building the Cathedral had been a great undertaking of faith. Who had given all the money? Literally thousands. Funds raised by Breck and contributions from the

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[22]See C. Breck, p. 439.
[23]Henry Benjamin Whipple, *History of the Schools at Faribault, Minn.* (newspaper format), May, 1876, p. 1; *Democrat,* June 20, 1884, p. 1.
[24]*Democrat,* Jan. 8, 1897, p. 1.
[25]Bishop Wingfield, Breck's diocesan, wrote the following to Whipple just over two years after Breck's death: "I have come to the conclusion that the Good Lord sent Breck to this coast to test the patience and forbearance of the Bishops ... Here I am staggering under the heavy loads of two Church schools — or rather sinking ships — burdened with overwhelming debts which I am carrying individually." (July 3, 1878, from St. Augustine's College for Young Gentlemen, Benicia; letter in Minnesota Historical Society). Perhaps Wingfield resented Breck partly because it was the former bishop, William I. Kip, who had persuaded Whipple to release Breck for new work in California. (Alvin W. Skardon, *Church Leader in the Cities: William Augustus Muhlenburg* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1971), p. 97.) Breck's girls' school, St. Mary's of the Pacific, closed in 1884; St. Augustine's was sold at auction five years later. Only one building survives — the house Wingfield lived in.
[26]The complete text is in the 1869 *Journal,* pp. 11-13.

Parish of the Good Shepherd, together, probably amounted to no more than $16,000. It is unclear where exactly the rest of the $60,000 came from. Bishop Whipple told the convention:

Most of these gifts came to us without the asking; some of the largest gifts from personal friends; some from friends we have never met; some from little children; some from aged folks; some the last gift of the dying, and many gifts are from those who are not of our Church. If you knew half of its history you would not wonder that we never doubted that GOD would build it in his own good time.

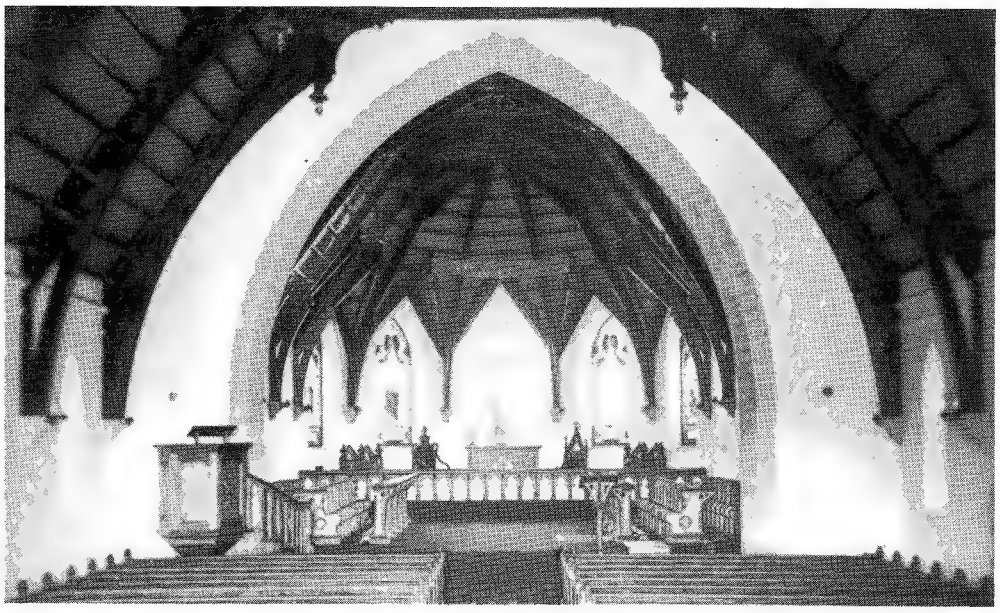
Above: *Window in the west wall honoring Jane Maria Breck, whose death was the catalyst that led to building the Cathedral.* Left: *An early view of the Cathedral from the northeast.*

THE CATHEDRAL IS CONSECRATED

At 11 o'clock on June 24, 1869, St. John the Baptist's Day, the Cathedral was consecrated. The venerable, old Jackson Kemper had come by train from the Diocese of Wisconsin with Bishop Armitage, the Coadjutor. Bishop Kemper had opened Minnesota to the mission of the Episcopal Church, presided over the election of its first bishop, and would now set apart the Bishop's Church. The procession formed at Bishop Whipple's residence nearby. The students from Seabury Hall and Shattuck Grammar School led, followed by the clergy of the diocese. At the door of the Cathedral, Bishop Kemper entered first. As they continued down the center aisle, Psalm XXIV was recited alternately between the Bishop and others. The preacher, Bishop Whitehouse of Illinois, followed Kemper, who was followed by Whipple. The diocesan clergy were led by Minnesota's first priest, Ezekiel Gear. A total of 1,000 persons were reported to have attended the consecration, crowding even into the empty organ chamber and the truncated tower. For the service, "the Altar displayed a cross covered with flowers, and the Altar rails, Lectern, and Pulpit were likewise decorated with festoons." Bishop Kemper, with Armitage at his side, "set apart [the Cathedral] in the name of the Holy Trinity, to the service of Almighty God, and to be free, forever, from all secular and unhallowed purposes."

The service was particularly festive for that era, and even parts of Morning Prayer, though not the Communion service, were sung by a choir of students from the schools. Bishop Whitehouse, whose own diocese had been torn by dissension over the cathedral concept, referred in his sermon to the first modern missionary cathedral, built by the Bishop of Calcutta, and was clear about the prominence of a cathedral in missionary work.

Bishop Whipple ordained four men to the priesthood on the following day, and Bishop Kemper was the preacher. The cornerstone for the Divinity School had been laid the day after that of the cathedral, showing the close relationship between the two institutions. Likewise now the ordination of these men demonstrated the idea of a cathedral in action.



Earliest known view of the Cathedral interior, showing the original pine pulpit (replaced soon after 1872) and oil lamps attached to the corbels (replaced by gas "chandeliers" in 1873). Note original stalls for the Divinity School — two rows on each side of the chancel. Organ, if installed, not visible.

The consecration of the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour was to be one of Bishop Kemper's last official acts. It must have been personally satisfying. He returned to his home near Nashotah, died the following year at the age of 80, and was buried on a hill near the seminary chapel. The Rev. James DeKoven, an ardent "catholic" clergyman of Kemper's diocese and a national leader in the High Church movement, described him: "Snow white are his locks, and his face fair and beautiful. If ever there was a saint on earth or shall be in heaven, it is he — a long life of the most simple-minded, pure-hearted labor ..."[27]

In Minnesota, the Church now had a cathedral building, schools, and seminary: an Episcopal community for mission.

A POSTSCRIPT ON 'FIRST'

The Faribault Cathedral has long prided itself on being "the first cathedral in the American Church." Some, however, might raise doubts about the claim. The question is partly semantic — it depends on what the word *cathedral* means. It is important to notice Bishop Whipple's exact phrase: "the first cathedral erected in the United States."[28] The crucial word is *erected.* When he laid the cornerstone on July 16, 1862, Whipple announced that the edifice would be a cathedral.

Today the cathedral idea is commonly accepted in this country, but it was not always so. Until long after the Civil War, many in the Church considered it impractical, irrelevant, and even un-American. This young nation was fiercely proud of its democratic heritage.

There can be no cathedral, of course, without a bishop. From the introduction of Anglican-style Christianity at Jamestown in 1607 until the end of the Revolution, the colonists had managed without the episcopate. Requests for it from American Churchpeople had been politely ignored by the Mother Country.[29] As a matter of fact, in 1789 when the remnant of the faithful reorganized themselves as the Protestant Episcopal Church, there were nine state conventions but only three bishops. Senior among them was the Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, consecrated five years earlier in Scotland; the other two, both consecrated in England in 1787, were the Rt. Rev. William White of Pennsylvania and the Rt. Rev. Samuel Provoost of New York.

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[27] E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 324.

[28] *Lights and Shadows*, p. 187.

[29] It is possible that there were two earlier American bishops: John Talbot of St. Mary's, Burlington, N.J. (according to tradition consecrated secretly in England in 1722) and Richard Welton of Philadelphia (1724); see W.W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1959), p. 170 and G.W. Shinn, *King's Handbook of Notable Episcopal Churches* (Boston: Moses King, 1889), p. 78. According to Manross, the evidence is "largely indirect." It seems noteworthy that because of the general population's opposition to bishops of any stripe, even the Roman Catholics lacked one until 1789, when John Carroll of Baltimore was appointed. (His cathedral, begun in 1806, still stands, though a much larger basilica serves in its place.)

Early American bishops worked mainly as rectors of parishes, carrying out their extra episcopal duties as time allowed. After the Revolution the number of ministers and communicants was tiny. Not only had there been no ordinations or confirmations in the colonies; hundreds of leading Churchpeople, loyal to the Crown, had fled to Canada. Not surprisingly, acceptance of bishops and their authority grew slowly, and even in the 1860s and '70s many were still suspicious of centralized power in the American Church. To such, the very idea of a cathedral symbolized a return either to the Middle Ages, when bishops were often temporal princes, or to the Colonial era, when bishops were functionaries of an Establishment thousands of miles away.

Nonetheless, soon after 1820, the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart of New York, a notable champion of the Church's distinctiveness from other Protestants, had begun to advocate "bishop's churches." In 1832 the Rt. Rev. George Washington Doane of New Jersey had set up his own bishop's chair — probably the first such chair in the American Church — in St. Mary's, Burlington, where he was rector. If installation of a bishop's chair (*cathedra*) is sufficient to transform an ordinary parish church into a cathedral, St. Mary's was probably the earliest. Yet, so far as is known, Bishop Doane did not call St. Mary's a cathedral. Likewise in 1863 the Rt. Rev. William Ingraham Kip of California, while rector of Grace Church, San Francisco, set up his chair there — though later, when he became rector of the Church of the Advent, the chair moved with him. Each church, in turn, was popularly known as a "cathedral."[30]

Chicago often claims to have been first. In 1853 Bishop Henry John Whitehouse formally proposed a cathedral to the Illinois Convention. Already land had been offered at an attractive price. However, various problems developed — to the point that a battle raged in the public press about the pros and cons of the whole idea. The bishop, in protest, moved back temporarily to New York. Finally, early in 1861, Whitehouse assumed responsibility for the debts of a struggling West Side parish, and on Easter Day of that year reopened its church as "the Bishop's Chapel."[31] Chancel and transepts were soon added. One of the first vested boys' choirs in America started there in 1868, though hopes for a choir school were never realized.[32] It was not until December 10, 1879 — when all of the improvements were paid for — that the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul could be consecrated. The once-fashionable neighborhood soon deteriorated, but, often against great odds, the Chicago Cathedral carried on a distinguished social ministry among the poor until it burned on March 6, 1921.

Soon after mid-century the cathedral idea began to catch on. Other early cathedrals were built at Davenport, Iowa (begun 1867, consecrated 1873 with Bishop Whipple as preacher); Omaha (established 1872, consecrated 1883); Salt Lake City (consecrated 1874); and Portland, Me. (begun 1867). In 1873 the Diocese of Wisconsin, having sought and obtained the blessing of General Convention, bought a Congregationalist church building in Milwaukee and opened it as All Saints' Cathedral. Bishop Isaac Nicholson, it is said, used to claim that the Milwaukee Cathedral was *really first* — "because it was started right!"[33] Along the same lines, Canon DeMille's history of All Saints' Cathedral, Albany, asserts, "Not until William Croswell Doane became first Bishop of Albany was the true cathedral idea to be manifested in the American Church."[34] Partly that "true idea" was a matter of size and architectural grandeur: Albany was to approximate the dimensions of a small European cathedral — 270 feet long, with towers over 200 feet high. The cornerstone was laid on Whitsunday, 1884. All the earlier cathedrals, in DeMille's view, were "essentially parish churches." Over a century old, the Albany Cathedral is still unfinished — but, of course, its Old World counterparts often took several hundred years.

By 1889 there were 16 cathedrals in the American Church;[35] today there are apparently 69 in the 93 dioceses within the United States.

Depending on one's definition, Chicago may indeed boast of the earliest official diocesan church; Faribault, however, can just as certainly claim the first church *built from the very beginning* as a cathedral. Doubtless, neither Chicago nor Faribault represented the potential of a cathedral in its fulness. Both were experimental. On the other hand, both were intensely *about mission* — which, after all, is *the* "true idea."

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[30]The current brochure of Grace Cathedral makes clear that this was an "unofficial designation."
[31]Shinn, p. 240. The Faribault Cathedral was apparently not "notable" enough to merit mention in this guidebook. Among Minnesota churches, only Gethsemane of Minneapolis and St. Paul's Church of St. Paul made it.
[32]Roderic B. Dibbert, *Chicago's Cathedral* (Hackensack, N.J.: Custombook, 1976), pp. 5f.
[33]William H. Stone, "The Cathedral in America," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Dec., 1950, p. 333.
[34]George E. DeMille, *Pioneer Cathedral* (1967), p. 3.
[35]Shinn, p. 240. Even in 1889 — 20 years after the consecration of the Faribault Cathedral — Shinn would not take a definite stand: "It is not the purpose of this book to argue the question, but simply to give illustration ..." Apparently the issue was still somewhat controversial.

Chapter IV

THE CATHEDRAL-PARISH COMES OF AGE

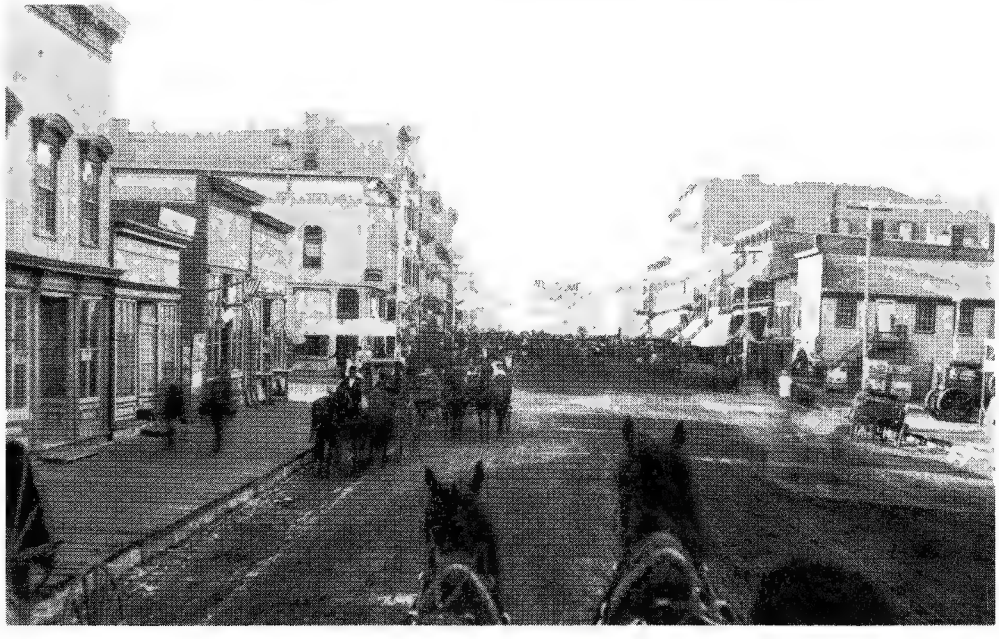
During the forty years between 1860 and 1900 — almost exactly the period that Bishop Whipple lived in Faribault — the population multiplied almost four times and many of the institutions that are familiar today were established. In 1860 there were about 2,000 people, and a decade later twice as many. An early graduate of St. Mary's Hall remembered the middle '60s this way:

There was yet little attempt at laying out the town with roads and sidewalks. Houses were scattered here and there ... most straggled along Main Street [Central Avenue]. ... There were no trees in the town itself. ... The bluffs, the crowning beauty of Faribault, were then in an almost wild state ... A partial clearing had been made for two plain structures, Seabury and Shattuck Halls, and a passable road for them down to the town. The river was then crossed by a dangerous temporary bridge. ... Of public buildings there were very few: The Cathedral was begun but not far advanced, and the Church of the Good Shepherd was a brown, low edifice, cruciform in shape, in the center of the town. It was always very full ...[1]

Her family had come from Cleveland, Ohio, and what disappointed her brother was the lack of "*wild* Indians"!

In the early '70s business was booming, and one can sense as well a growing gentility. The *Republican*, ever on the side of commerce, noted complaints about "farmers' teams standing promiscuously in our streets." "We, for one," it editorialized, "like to see the streets full of teams, and it is immaterial where they halt. It don't hurt the town any."[2] Whatever the conditions of the streets, rents were said to be high — $200-400 annually at least for a very modest house. And despite the Panic of '73, a quarter of a million dollars was spent that year on permanent improvements. More and more buldings were being constructed of brick and stone, shade trees were being planted and gas-lamps installed along the streets. Early in the decade one great opportunity had been missed: Faribault could not generate enough support to attract Carleton College, which chose Northfield instead. Nonetheless, as its Church and State institutions gained prominence, Faribault got a nickname that is still sometimes heard — "the Athens of the West."

In the '70s, '80s and '90s Faribault continued to grow as immigrants — particularly Scandinavians, Germans, and Irish — flocked to Minnesota.[3] During this period many of the businesses that still serve the community were developing. By 1900 the census was 7,868, and three years later it was estimated to be about 10,000.[4] That certainly was less than the early pioneers had hoped for, but the foundations were solid.



Faribault, circa 1900; reproduced by permission of the Minnesota State Historical Society.

[1] Margaretta Brown Byrde, *Saint Mary's Five Years Ago*, pp. 6-7.
[2] June 2, 1871, p. 2.
[3] Birth statistics of 1882 suggest the size of various ethnic groups in Faribault: Americans, 53; Irish, 24; French, 15; Norwegians, 12; Swedes, 1. Presumably the French were French-Canadians. Why no Germans were reported is unclear, there had been enough Germans in 1869 to found a separate Roman Catholic parish, St. Lawrence's.
[4] *Faribault: The Athens of the West*, promotional book, p. 9.

THE FORTY YEARS AFTER BRECK

N.B.: If in the following section men predominate, it is only because the extensive work of women on behalf of the Parish and Cathedral deserves and is given a separate section. The *Republican* commented in an editorial on May 14, 1862, that "ladies are almost as essential to civilization as Christianity!" Well, the same is true for the history of this Church. (See Appendix II.)

GEORGE DUBOIS (1867-1869)

The first rector of the Parish after Breck seems to have been gentler and more broad-minded, but no less interested in salvation of souls. The Rev. George W. DuBois was an evangelist at heart, but also an amateur scientist. His frequent lectures drew large crowds. One was on "Atmospheric Air and Water," illustrated with various experiments. Admission cost 25¢, and all proceeds went to aid a needy widow in town. This was a time when science was of special interest, and once during Dr. DuBois' tenure there was a memorable public debate about the new theory of Evolution. He had an observatory in his house and a telescope reportedly worth $650. Often in sermons he would use bits of science to make a spiritual point. Even while he was Rector he would go on short "missionary tours" during the week, sometimes taking students along to serve as a choir. One St. Mary's girl described such a trip:

We traveled in a covered wagon, and it was great fun ... I remember his fatherly way with people on the prairies. At one service a woman who had brought her baby — as they all did — was flustered and worried by the little one's restlessness and was about to go out when [Dr. DuBois] said calmly, "Give me the baby." He went forward, taking it into his surpliced arms, sat in a chair ... and went on preaching as if it were quite the usual thing to do ...[5]

Dr. DuBois and Darwinism

A young St. Mary's girl, troubled about the new idea of Evolution, went to the Rector of the Parish of the Good Shepherd for counsel. The story of what happened, as recalled many years afterward, is in her own words:

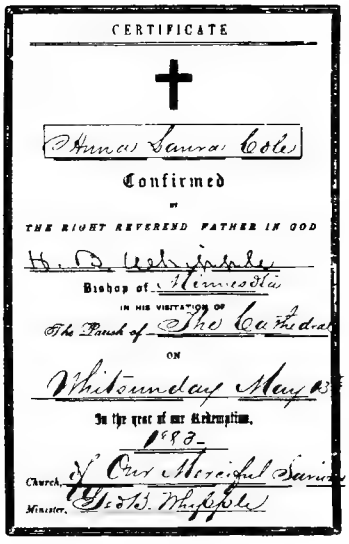
"Then — I don't remember how it came about one bit, only my horror and bewilderment — echoes of the Darwinian battle reached Faribault, and people began to talk about Evolution! I think nobody believed in it, but it was discussed at the debating society ... One small girl went home troubled ...

"I cannot remember why it was I chose to go to Dr. DuBois — perhaps it was just an instinct and the confidence that he would not "put me off"; anyhow, I stole to his study one evening and asked him the momentous question ... You smile, but in the early '70s there were many older than I who felt that their very *lives* hung upon the *literal* acceptance of the Biblical account of Creation ...

"He said, 'Sit down,' and he sat beside me. And then he began telling me in a simple, sincere way — yet glowing, too — the glorious story of Creation as revealed by the testimony of the earth itself ... He spoke of God, of His patience and power ... And finally he told me something — very cautiously, of course — of the *poetic* fervor of the Bible ... I think it was noble of him to talk to me like that, at a time when men did not like to say all that they thought, lest they might be misunderstood. He did not ask me not to repeat the conversation, but I never wanted to do so. My doubts were laid to rest, in the only possible way, by enlarging the scope of faith."

—Margaretta Brown Byrde, *Saint Mary's Fifty Years Ago*, pp. 13-14.

[5] Byrde, p. 11.


CERTIFICATE

✝

Anna Sarah Cole

Confirmed

BY

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

H. B. Whipple

Bishop of Minnesota

IN HIS VISITATION OF

The Parish of The Cathedral

ON

Whitsunday May 8

In the year of our Redemption,

1870

Church of Our Merciful Saviour

Minister, H. B. Whipple

Confirmation certificate that belonged to Anna Cole Theopold, signed by Bishop Whipple.

As soon as the Cathedral was consecrated, he also became its first Assistant Minister. (The title may sound strange today, but it must be remembered that the Cathedral was very much the *Bishop's* Church — the Bishop was Rector.) Dr. DuBois now had a double responsibility: to conduct worship on Sunday mornings and holy days for the *Cathedral* congregation — *i.e.*, the students and faculty members of the schools — and, also in the Cathedral building, on Sunday evenings and ordinary weekdays to hold services for the *Parish.* Just how many years this unusual arrangement went on is unclear — probably not for long, though over thirty years later Bishop Whipple referred to it when the newly-appointed Dean Slattery inquired about the relation between the Parish and the Cathedral. In DuBois' time, evening congregations must have filled the old chapel while the Cathedral still stood unfinished. DuBois was loved by his people, and on a February morning in 1869 was surprised to find a new horse in his stable — a gift from the Parish Vestry.

One particularly notable event on February 2 of that year was the first meeting of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd. It voted to establish a Reading Room above the Empire Store on Third Street. Soon there would be about 400 books — both religious and secular — as well as leading magazines and daily newspapers. It was to be free to the public: "strangers and residents, irrespective of denomination" would be welcome. A saintly young man named S. H. Jacques was the moving force behind the library and lent the Brotherhood money to get it going; unfortunately, he died two years later. (There had been a small rental library as early as 1856 run by a local doctor, but he left town in 1859. The Brotherhood Reading Room was the real beginning of the free public library in Faribault.)

Dr. DuBois resigned five months after the consecration of the Cathedral to do full-time missionary work under the auspices of the Seabury Mission. His new field comprised twelve preaching stations between Kenyon and Janesville. He would not only hold services and Sunday School but also in Tanner's words, "instruct the people in many subjects of useful interest."

George B. Whipple (1869-1870)

The Bishop's brother, the Rev. George B. Whipple, took charge for the next year, November 1869-November 1870. After three years of missionary work in Hawaii, he would return to Faribault and serve the Parish and Cathedral for a decade.

Herman Wood (1871-1874)

The Rev. Herman Wood succeeded Mr. Whipple. Four years later, when Mr. Wood left to take a church in Pennsylvania, the *Republican* paid him a singular compliment by printing his farewell sermon on the front page. Its theme was Christian cooperation — a topic that could not have been more timely. Much good had been accomplished — 141 baptized, 89 confirmed during his tenure; there were 295 current communicants and altogether about 1,000 souls in his cure. Besides, he had introduced his people to some of the great Christian poets in his sermons. Perhaps the highlight of his tenure came on June 18, 1871, when the new organ in the Cathedral was played for the first time. The Parish had worked hard to raise the $4,000 that it cost. Two other major improvements were made in 1873. The day after Christmas the *Republican* reported:

The Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour is now lighted with gas and presents a splendid appearance in the evening. The chancel is lighted with a 16-burner reflector, and the nave with ten four-burner chandeliers. ... The cost of putting in the gas was $500. Two large Boynton furnaces have recently been introduced to heat the Cathedral.[6]

But there was a darker side too. This was a time of strife and, mysteriously, financial difficulty. At the annual meeting of the Parish on Easter Monday, 1872, the entire Vestry had resigned. The reason: the Parish was $7,000 in debt — an obligation that would take several years to pay off. Samuel Crossett and C. H. Whipple, son of the Bishop, bravely accepted election as wardens. Two of the new vestrymen would serve

[6]Dec. 26, 1873, p. 3. The "chandeliers" were mounted on standards fixed to pews at the middle, where the dividers are; there were five on each side. The new furnances, with registers in the center aisle, replaced the two wood stoves at the west end; the other two stoves, however, in the sacristy and organ chamber, continued to heat the chancel.

for many years: the Hon. Gordon Cole, who had been Minnesota's first Attorney-General and would be elected Mayor of Faribault in 1878 by "an almost unanimous vote," and A. E. Haven, who was the influential editor of the *Faribault Democrat*. The difficulties were not only financial, however. There were "technical problems between the Vestry, the head of Seabury Divinity School, and the Rector of the Parish" — and as Haven said years later, "their history would make a volume."[7]

MR. WHIPPLE AGAIN (1874-1884)

George Whipple returned in 1874, and though there were few tangible improvements — the kind that get reported in the papers — his ministry of ten years made a lasting impression on the Parish and the whole community. Besides doing the usual work of his predecessors he also served as the Bishop's secretary and co-editor (with the Rev. Edward Clark Bill) of the *Minnesota Missionary*.

In a letter the Bishop described his brother as "a man of decidedly Evangelical views," "simple-hearted and earnest," and "opposed to ritualism in all its forms."[8] It was a time when some of the more "advanced" practices of the Anglo-Catholic movement were gaining acceptance, and Mr. Whipple feared that some people were worshipping ritual more than God. (Yet he can hardly have eschewed *all* ceremony, for he was a Mason of the 33rd degree!) Much of his character can probably be traced to the story of his conversion — a story that he kept from his parishioners but that was revealed after his death when the Bishop laid the cornerstone of the George Brayton Whipple Memorial Guild House. George had always loved the sea. In his youth he had read Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* and longed someday to go whaling. After graduation from college he wanted to "see the world" and signed on.

After they had been out two years, they one day struck an enormous whale; the creature no sooner felt the harpoon than it turned upon the boat and with a stroke of its tail threw the craft in the air; and as the whale dove, my brother was caught in a coil of rope, which would have cut him in two, had it not been for a broad belt of heavy leather which he wore. When the whale rose, [George] was in some way disentangled, and found himself near the overturned boat, on which he climbed in company with others; and that night, in the midst of a stormy sea, he gave his heart to Christ and His service.[9]

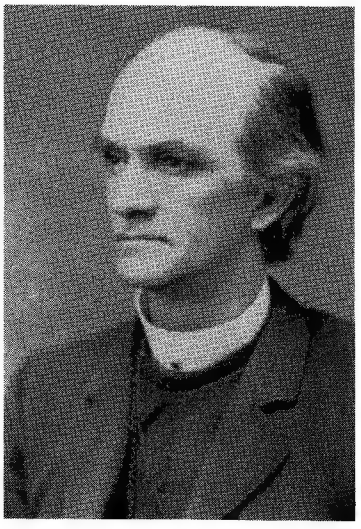
Though very different from Breck in churchmanship, like Breck he worked unceasingly among the sick, the poor, and the indifferent. Years later, Charles Slattery got to know Mrs. George Whipple (the former Miss Mary Mills who had come to Faribault in the earliest days to teach in the Parish School):

She told me how she was forced to lock up her clothes; because, whenever poor people came [Mr. Whipple's] way, he gave, first, all his own things, then all hers, so far as he could lay hold of them. To hear her tell the tale you would have thought that she was a flinty person dismally resenting the indiscriminate giving; but no wife could ever have more eagerly aided and abetted the criminal generosity.[10]

His last act, when he himself was near death, was to take Communion to a dying woman. In a resolution after he died the Vestry said, "Mr. Whipple literally filled out the words of the New Testament, 'he went about doing good.'" The one success while he was Rector that did make the news happened at Easter, 1880: a special offering of $528.24 paid off the last of the $7,000 debt. The *Democrat* hoped that other churches would follow suit!

A. A. ABBOTT (1884-1887)

The Rev. Asa Appleton Abbott served for less than three years. He was a recent graduate of Seabury, and the *Democrat* warned that his duties would be "severe and exacting;" but when he left in July, 1887, it was evident that the Parish was appreciative of his efforts, and he was given a silver Communion set by the Vestry. Early in his tenure the stone coping on the gable at the west end of the Cathedral was replaced with one of galvanized iron, and the pieces of stone were laid as a walk between the north door and Sixth Street.



The Rev. George Brayton Whipple, brother of the Bishop.

[7] *Democrat*, Jan. 8, 1897, p. 1; Haven had spoken about the early history of the Parish at the 40th annual Epiphany Party. The newspaper did not give any specifics of the conflict except to say that the few remaining records were in the hands of Dr. Tanner.
[8] Letter to Stewart Brown, Esq. of New York, Aug. 27, 1867; George Whipple was still in Hawaii. (Minnesota Historical Society)
[9] *Democrat*, Nov. 10, 1893, p. 3.
[10] Charles L. Slattery, *Certain American Faces*. New York: Dutton, 1918), p. 118

Early photograph of a painting of Bishop Whipple, perhaps by Grace McKinstry: while Whipple is shown as an older man, this picture was chosen because, unlike other portraits, it shows him seated in his cathedra.

High Drama in the Bishop's Church

Bishop Whipple's life was threatened more than once. His courageous work with and for Indians angered a few settlers to wish him dead, but the case of a former seminarian involved a different motive. Here is the full story exactly as reported in the *Faribault Republican.* (The shorter version in the *Democrat* differed in some particulars.) The title of the *Republican* article took up four column lines: "ALMOST A TRAGEDY" .,. "Attempt to Shoot Bishop Whipple" _ "An Insane Divinity Student" ... "Exciting Scene in the Cathedral."

* * * * *

On Sunday last, the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour came near to being the scene of a fearful tragedy, the consummation of which would have carried consternation and sorrow far and wide.

The services had proceeded as usual, till the morning notices had been read, and the organist had commenced the prelude of the hymn precedent to the sermon, when a man who was sitting toward the rear of the audience chamber arose and advanced rapidly up the aisle in the direction of the chancel. It was noticed that he held something in one hand, and those who observed this, supposed it was some paper or notice that he wished to present. As he ascended the chancel steps, Rev. Mr. Wood advanced to receive his request, and recognized him as a Divinity student named Nims, and saw that instead of a paper he held a pistol in his hand, which he raised and flourished in the direction of Mr. W. in a threatening or warning manner, at the same time passing toward the rear of the chancel, where Bishop Whipple and a Mr. Edson were sitting on opposite sides of the altar. Arriving in front of Mr. Edson, Nims pointed his pistol at him, and then suddenly turned it upon the Bishop. The latter had time to observe as the would-be assassin neared the chancel rail that his weapon was not cocked, but as he raised it the bullets were plainly visible in the chambers. With that rapidity of thought which is sometimes the concomitant of imminent peril, the Bishop saw the chance of seizing the man before he cocked his weapon, and looking him directly in the eye, the Bishop made two or three rapid steps forward, and catching him above the elbow of the pistol arm whirled him around with a strong effort so as to bring the man's back to him, while he grasped and held the elbow of the other arm. While struggling with the Bishop the man attempted to cock the pistol with the left hand, the forefinger of the pistol hand having been amputated at some time, but the exertions of Dr. Hurd, a Mr. Ward, and others, who had now come to the Bishop's assistance prevented this, and Nims was disarmed and taken to the Robing Room. When questioned as to why he made the attack, he stated that he did not know.

But two or three minutes elapsed while this startling episode was taking place, and the congregation, who seemed lost in astonishment, remained stationary with the exception of a few who withdrew. Immediately after Nims had been taken out, the Bishop, who preserved remarkable coolness throughout the transaction, announced that the man was insane and the danger had passed. A voluntary was then played on the organ and the services were proceeded with as usual, the sermon being delivered by Rev. Mr. Edson, of Ill. The prisoner, Nims, was taken to the jail for safe keeping.

The antecedents of the man who came so near causing a frightful tragedy are as follows: His name is George L. Nims, and he is a native of Sullivan, N.H., where his parents reside. He is a graduate of Middlebury College, Vt., where he studied in the same class with Prof. M.D.L. Collester. He afterward completed a course of theological study in Andover Theological Seminary, Mass., and became a licentiate of the Congregational Church. Becoming

dissatisfied with this system, he came to Minnesota about a year ago and entered upon a course of study in the Seabury Divinity school, with the view of taking Orders. Having been from the time of first entering college an intense student, his mind has been overtaxed, and gave way, and for several months he has developed eccentricities indicative of insanity or a softening of the brain, which ends in idiocy. The faculty of the Divinity school, in view of these peculiarities, decided that it would be unwise to admit him to Holy Orders, and this fact having been communicated to him seems to have been the exciting cause of his subsequent violence. He has for some time been a constant frequenter of our streets, and attracted the attention of passers by his abstracted gaze and muttering, but has generally been considered harmless. There had been some thoughts however, of sending him to St. Peter, and Mr. Collester, a distant relative, had been here to investigate his case, but delayed positive action till his friends at the east could be advised of his condition. That he felt a deadly hostility to the Bishop is probable from the fact that he believed the latter responsible for his failure to secure ordination with the rest of his class, and of late any reference to this subject has thrown him into a fierce paroxysm of insane frenzy. He has also exhibited a similar hatred toward Dr. Richey, and the fact that when he went up to the chancel he first pointed his pistol at Mr. Edson, who occupied the chair on the right of the altar usually occupied by Dr. Richey, favors the supposition that he intended to assassinate the Doctor as well as the Bishop. Other circumstances point to the existence of a preconceived deadly purpose. Some two weeks since the Bishop's family were alarmed by seeing a man in the dusk of the evening prowling about the house, who at one time came close to the window and peered in to observe the inmates. He wore a stove-pipe hat and answered to the description of Nims, and it seems probable that he was lying in wait for the Bishop, who was expected home. On Sunday last, soon after the opening of the service, when the announcement was made that the Bishop would preach in the evening, Nims was observed by those who occupied the same pew to give vent to a sardonic chuckle, while at the same time tapped the pocket in which his pistol was concealed in a significant manner. After he had been taken to jail the Sheriff asked him if he had any enmity to the Bishop, to which he replied that it was a question he was not prepared to answer.

On Monday morning the necessary papers for the committal of Nims to the Insane Hospital at St. Peter were made out by Probate Judge Quinn, and he departed in charge of a deputy. On Sunday evening a special Thanksgiving service was held in the Cathedral, the Bishop taking part, in grateful acknowledgement of the mercy of an overruling Providence as exemplified in this remarkable escape.

—*Republican*, Aug. 6, 1874, p. 3. (One considerable difference in the *Democrat's* version is the suggestion that the disarming of the assailant was handled with such finesse and dispatch that most in the congregation were unaware that anything very unusual had occurred.)

The Rev. Edward Clark Bill

One of the most important decisions of the Vestry during this period was to experiment with the "envelope system", whereby each household was asked to pledge a specific weekly amount. This was put into operation in 1885. The brochure sent out by the Vestry said:

Do not let the smallness of the amount deter you from making a pledge. We request that pledges *be made in order that we may know who is giving, and how much to depend upon for annual expenses. Certainly everyone is able to give something — five, ten, twenty, or twenty-five cents each week. You may think that such amounts are so small as to make no difference ... And yet, if 300 out of the more than 800 persons in the parish should give 15 cents each Sunday, the amount of our annual income would be $2,340, a sum not far short of our yearly expenses. If 300 should give 20 cents each Sunday, the amount would be $3,120, a sum considerably in excess ... An answer to this communication is respectfully requested. A refusal would be preferable to no answer.*

In another attempt to make the finances of the Parish more business-like, the Vestry decided that "all moneys received by the Parish of the Good Shepherd from whatever sources, *except Communion alms*, be placed in the hands of the Treasurer, and paid out only by order of the finance committee."[11]

Finally, upon learning of the resignation of Mr. Abbott, Bishop Whipple wrote an urgent letter to the Vestry:

I feel the deepest anxiety about a pastor for the flock with whom my life has been spent 27 years. If harm came to work dearer than my life, I would end my days in sorrow. The salary you pay — $1,000 without a house — will not care for a man of family or secure you a man who has had experience in parochial work. The position is of great responsibility and the salary very small ...[12]

The Vestry extended a call to the Rev. William Gardam of Lake City, the salary to be $1,000 "*and* a parsonage." Meantime, the Parish was over $600 in debt and had to borrow money to pay the Rev. Edward Clark Bill, who was supplying during the interim.

[11]Vestry Minutes, September 6, 1886; Communion alms were to be retained by the priest to be used for his own charities.
[12]Letter to the Vestry, June 21, 1887 (original in the Minutes Book).

E.C. BILL (1871-1889)

Dr. Bill served in a variety of capacities off-and-on for nearly twenty years. In 1871 he was appointed Precentor (organist and choirmaster), a position he served in with distinction, despite partial blindness and deafness. He is known to have composed several short choral and organ pieces, including a hymn tune for the wedding of Jenny Whipple, May 28, 1872. He served along with George Whipple as Associate Minister of the Cathedral during Whipple's second term as Rector of the Parish. For several years he was Professor of Liturgics at the Divinity School. He died on May 18, 1892 of consumption. In his will he left a $50,000 endowment to Seabury, his alma mater. The stone pulpit in the Cathedral and a large Tiffany-style window in the Guild House are memorials to him. It was said that he loved to preach about the Resurrection.

WILLIAM GARDAM (1887-1896)

What everyone familiar with the Cathedral knows about William Gardam is that he was the first of its clergy to be called "Dean." The date usually given is 1895, but that is wrong: the story of the Bishop's announcement appeared three years earlier, in the *Republican* on September 28 and in the *Democrat* on September 30, *1892*. The Bishop explained that it had often been necessary for him to be away for extended periods of time and that, after due consideration, he had decided to appoint Mr. Gardam "to act and speak for the Bishop at the Cathedral during his absence." The statment is puzzling. In one sense that is exactly what Gardam and all the other Assistant Ministers of the Cathedral before him had been doing. The Bishop appears to have enlarged Gardam's authority or responsibility — otherwise, presumably, Whipple would have announced only a change in *title*; nevertheless, the Cathedral would continue to have the Bishop as Rector.

The change in Gardam's title, however, seems relatively minor in comparison with the change that was going on in the Parish — and that change was epitomized by the erection in 1894 of the Guild House. It was no small undertaking. It would cost $10,000, and there was little wealth in the local congregation. Its location at the other end of the block from the Cathedral and its very different architecture — brick and

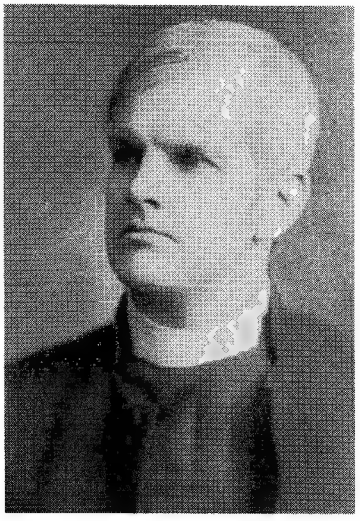
Romanesque — were almost a declaration of independence. (Brick also cost less.) For years the parish had needed much more than a church. In the words of the Parish's *Year Book* of 1895:

The parish has grown in the direction of organized work very considerably. When the present rector took up the work there was one society covering the general aims of the parish, charitable, missionary, and otherwise. The parish now counts eight organizations. ... The mere mechanical creation of societies, because they happen to exist elsewhere, would be an unwise thing ... a waste of powder. There is such a thing as over-organizing and consequent loss of individual service. ... [But] it is easier for a rector to make an appeal through an organization of twenty or thirty members than to go to twenty or thirty different individuals ...

The future of the Cathedral parish, with its vastly improved equipment for work, is full of promise. Now, and two years ago, *the look and aspect are very different. We can do things now we could not dream of doing then. ... The work of the Church in Faribault is not a decaying mission, but a widening and expanding one, and great things are surely in store, if the body ecclesiastic of the parish is true to itself. ...*[13]

Until the Guild House was built, it had been necessary to rent various facilities; the Old Chapel and the schoolroom of old St. Mary's Hall had simply been inadequate.

The Parish of 1895 continued to be about as large as it had been — 800 individuals, 397 communicants. In the previous two years $20,000 had been contributed — about half of it for the Guild House. There were 180 children in the Sunday School, with 28 teachers and officers. There were six organizations for women — three of them started by the energetic Mrs. Gardam. A chapter of the new Brotherhood of St. Andrew had been established for the purpose of reaching boys and young men for Christ and the Church; in its first year it had 25 members and had started a Sunday afternoon Bible class. There was also a new boys' club: "The aim is to maintain a newsroom, carry on simple entertainment for mutual pleasure, have a military organization, and possibly in the near future a baseball club and a band."[14] Dr. George Wood was president, and Lieut. James R. Smith drill instructor. With such a diversity of activity, the Church of the Good Shepherd was fast beginning to look like a modern parish.



The Very Rev. William Gardam, first minister of the Cathedral with the title of "Dean".

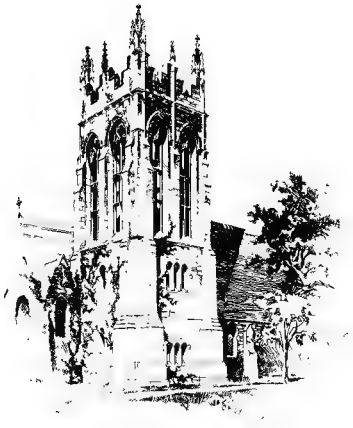
[13] *Year Book ... Advent, 1895* pp. 9, 12.
[14] *Ibid.*

Charles Slattery (1896-1907)

By 1896, the year that the Rev. Charles Lewis Slattery was called to Faribault, the Parish and the Cathedral had become almost indistinguishable. Perhaps the most telling indication of this development could be seen at the Sunday evening service, which originally was to have been reserved for the Parish. When the young Dean-and-Rector arrived he found that, though the Cathedral was often filled in the morning, attendance at Evensong was meager. Sunday morning was still the Cathedral service in the sense that students from Shattuck, St. Mary's, and Seabury attended — but they made up perhaps only a third of the congregation. The clergy from the school all had parts in the service, which in those days was still the traditional Morning Prayer *and* Litany *and* Ante-Communion *and* Sermon—*plus* the Holy Communion on the first Sunday of the month! Slattery is said to have been "ingenious to a degree" at rotating parts equitably among the professors, most of whom by now were old men.

It is significant that Slattery went about building up Sunday evening attendance by forming an organization. He had noticed immediately that many of the men in the Parish were not regular church-goers, so he set about to form a men's group. Each member — and soon there were fifty—pledged to attend Evensong. (The group, known as the Cathedral Club, also held dinners, "smokers," and other activities monthly to encourage what in those days was called "social intercourse." Dues were a dollar a year — and members were assured that the hat would not otherwise be passed.) The idea worked, and soon Sunday night congregations numbered between two and three hundred.

By the end of the first year, with increased giving, it became possible for Slattery to hire a full-time curate responsible for developing new work, including a Sunday School at Sheffield Mills. That same year women were able, for the first time, to vote on Easter Monday for wardens and vestrymen — though it would be 71 years until a woman would *be* elected. In the meantime, it should be noted that at that 1897 annual meeting



Top: *Architect's sketch of the Cathedral tower by the firm of Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson, 1900. (The original plan, however, as descibed in* Cathedral Notes, *Advent, 1898, was to have included a spire.)* Below: *The Very Rev. Charles Lewis Slattery.*

women reportedly far outnumbered men.[15] There seems to have been a good working relationship between the Rector and Vestry in these years — Junior Warden H. C. Theopold was especially supportive; but as time went on, some complacency can be detected:

Motion made by Mr. [Alfred Hoyt] Bill, seconded by Mr. Sheffield: Any member of the Vestry absenting himself from Vestry meetings unless out of town, or any members arriving at such meetings later than 8:10 p.m. are to be fined $1.00, the proceeds of said fines to be used for purchase of cigars for the Vestry. Any surplus to be given to the poor. Mr. Bill, be instructed to notify absent members of the above ruling.[16]

Perhaps the energetic Slattery was doing his job too well! In any case, he had in mind three building projects and was able to achieve two of them. The first would have enlarged the seating space in the Cathedral by the addition of transepts; but the Parish lacked the means and most of Bishop Whipple's old eastern friends were by now, as he said, "in Paradise." Undeterred, Slattery began to lay plans for completing the Cathedral tower as a memorial to the Bishop's great work. Whipple did see sketches before his death and is supposed to have pronounced them "perfect." On November 2, 1902, the tower was dedicated and the bells rang out. Nor did such a project divert the Parish from its real work — that year it gave $1,000 to missions. Slattery's other material goal was to enlarge Sunday School space in the Guild House, and on Founder's Day, September 16, 1905, a spacious "Room for Little Children" was opened. As with the Guild House eleven years before, most of the money came from the Parish. The addition was a memorial to Assistant Bishop Mahlon Norris Gilbert, who had died a year before Whipple. (For many years it would be known popularly as "the White Room," but recently the more dignified name "Gilbert Hall" has been encouraged.)

Slattery's tenth anniversary in Faribault was marked by a surprise visit from three vestrymen who presented him with $400 in gold from the Parish. He left the next year — though not before codifying the traditional arrangements that had linked the Church institutions in their first fifty years in Faribault. There had been challenges to the Cathedral even before Whipple's death, and there would be more. It would be important to have everything in writing. The *Constitution of the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour in Faribault* was duly approved and signed on January 5, 1906, by the Rt. Rev. Samuel Cook Edsall, Bishop of Minnesota, and by representatives of the Cathedral, the Parish, Shattuck School, St. Mary's Hall, and Seabury Divinity School.

The new Constitution had implications both for the Parish and for the Cathedral. Technically both remained separate legal entities — and yet in the document the term *Cathedral Parish* was used. In any case, there was now a greater degree of independence from the Bishop and the Diocese. Even after William Gardam was named Dean in 1892, the Bishop continued to be listed as Rector; as soon as Charles Slattery arrived, the Bishop was simply listed as Bishop. In the last decade of Whipple's life, the Cathedral grew to be less and less the "Bishop's Church" — but what exactly was it becoming? In the 1892 announcement (at least as reported in both Faribault newspapers) the Bishop referred to the Cathedral as a "Diocesan Church" — and yet its structure did not represent the Diocese. Under the constitution there was no change in this, except that some of the better scholars and preachers among the clergy might be elected Honorary Canons for two year terms, during which time they would be expected to present sermons and series of lectures — to be published, if possible. The Bishop still retained control of the ritual usages in the Cathedral but no longer had the sole right to name the Dean and Rector. "In consideration of the fact that the salary of the Rector must be provided by the Vestry and local congregation" — hardly a new situation! — the Bishop now agreed to "pay tender heed" to the wishes of the Parish and cooperate with the Vestry in choosing "a man who shall be mutually satisfactory."[17] Financial management of the Parish had always been the Vestry's responsibility; but because it was the Bishop's Church, some unofficial support had come from outside — especially from Whipple's eastern friends in the '60s and '70s. Now, with the old Bishop gone, the Cathedral Parish would be on its own, financially and otherwise. The new Bishop was in Minneapolis — indeed he was now also Rector of St. Mark's "Pro-Cathedral." But in the Slattery years the Church in Faribault had continued to flourish. Perhaps those were the golden years.

[15]*Republican*, Apr. 21, 1897, p. 3.
[16]Vestry Minutes, June 14, 1905.
[17]*Constitution*, pp. 6-7.

A Happy Parson and Future Bishop

Of all of the deans of the Cathedral in its first 125 years, Charles Lewis Slattery served the longest tenure and later reached the greatest prominence in the National Church.

As a seminarian he had once announced to his friends that there were two things he would never do — teach in a boys' school or go west. His first position was at Groton, the renowned preparatory school, and his second was at the Faribault Cathedral!

During his eleven years in Faribault he was (to use his own phrase) "a happy parson." Energetic, creative, and free from responsibilities for a wife and family (though his mother did live at the deanery), he threw himself into the work with alacrity. Besides a great many other projects, Slattery wrote four books during this period — two full-length biographies, followed by two theological works, *The Master of the World* and *Life Beyond Life*. He was always an avid reader as well, and once gave a baccalaureate address to the seniors at Faribault High School entitled *The Friendship of Books*. Another avocation was hiking. He spent summer vacations in the Canadian Rockies.

In *The Master of the World* Slattery examined the personality of the Savior in the Gospels. Besides the usual character traits, he saw in Jesus a surprising "lightheartedness." The book received favorable reviews and was reprinted several times. In recognition of the book's merit, Slattery's seminary, the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge, Mass., awarded him in 1907 a Doctor of Divinity degree — the first doctorate in its forty-year history. In *Life Beyond Life* he considered the problem of immortality, using evidence not only from the Scriptures and theology but also from modern psychology. One of the vexed questions he treated was prayer for the dead — a traditional practice dear to many Christians, but one about which he felt considerable doubts. In the book he included a prayer which would later appear in this form in the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer* — one so beautifully simple that it would come to be loved throughout the Church:

> Almighty God, we entrust all who are dear to us to thy never-failing care and love, for this life and the life to come, knowing that thou art doing for them better things than we can desire or pray for; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After he left Faribault he would write several more scholarly books, but the best-known one — which was still in print in the 1960s, more than forty years after it first appeared — was a plain little manual called *The Holy Communion: What It Is and How to Prepare for It*. The devotion with which he spoke of the Lord's Supper is reminiscent of Bishop Whipple's phrase — "the trysting place of love."

According to his biographer, Slattery was always terribly proper, totally organized, utterly conscientious. Bishop Edsall particularly liked to hold up Slattery as a model of the well-dressed minister. Some of his clerical colleagues, however, enjoyed ragging him about "being so perfect, never making a mistake, never expressing publicly a radical view." Yet there was a merry side to the young Dean that only a few close friends saw. He was said to be an "inimitable mimic." His appreciation of foibles became evident in his later book of character sketches, *Certain American Faces*. While at the Cathedral he even wrote a long satire — never published — described as "a veritable Barchester Towers of ecclesiastical conditions in Faribault."

continued on page 56

Bookplate designed by Slattery when he was rector of Christ Church, Springfield, Mass. It reads, "This is the Book of Charles Lewis Slattery, A Happy Parson." Visible through the door are the Faribault Cathedral tower and — just beyond! — the Canadian Rockies, where he loved to spend time in the summer.

Dr. Slattery as Bishop of Massachusetts.

[18]C. Breck, p. 365.

... continued from page 55

He moved on to Christ Church, Springfield, Mass., in 1907; then for thirteen years (1910-22) he was rector of one of the most influential parishes in the United States, Grace Church in New York City. In 1922 he was elected Bishop Coadjutor of Massachusetts, and in 1927 he succeeded the Rt. Rev. William Appleton Lawrence. (He married Lawrence's daughter Sarah in 1923.) But Slattery was to be Bishop of his diocese for less than four years — he died suddenly in 1930.

He became a leader in the life of the Church in three areas. He was chairman of the commission that revised the Prayer Book (1928) and a member of the committee that re-designed the Lectionary. Second, he served for 15 years on the commission that revised the Hymnal. Finally, he was a perennial champion of Christian unity — though he believed that Anglicans of various persuasions must first learn to cooperate among themselves before they might work effectively for the reunion of Christendom. He once said, "Those who really see the vision of a united Church of Christ ... see men of many minds, of differing temperaments, joined in the love of a Lord who understands and claims them all as His, however much they fail to understand one another."

—based on Howard Chandler Robbins' biography, *Charles Lewis Slattery*; pp. 89-129 focus on his Faribault years.

THE CATHEDRAL-PARISH AS MISSION NETWORK

Despite changes in the Diocese outside Faribault, the work envisioned by Dr. Breck continued to be carried on by the Cathedral and the Parish. Breck had spoken fifty years earlier of a cathedral and its system. In his vision, mission and education were one theological concept, but for Faribault it was also a practical necessity. In 1859, Breck described his plan thus:

Faribault lies five hundred miles northwest of Nashotah, and has for its two-fold object education and missionary work. It has its School of the Prophets and its Itinerancy. The latter runs out from Faribault as a centre, twenty-five miles in every direction.[18]

The "School of the Prophets" became the divinity school and the "itinerancy" its mission network. Twenty-five miles was a day's walk from the Associate Mission. As roads, horses, teams and wagons, and eventually railroads and automobiles came to the Faribault area, the network expanded. Small congregations, often made up of only two or three families, formed a close bond with the Faribault mission community. Many of the original families were rugged individualists; succeeding generations, however, sometimes developed a dependency for survival upon the Cathedral. Some of these churches closed when the original families dispersed or when whole villages vanished.

Breck's itinerancy eventually became a model for rural mission throughout the diocese. For instance, in the south central part of the diocese, congregations were located in Sleepy Eye, Cordova, Lexington, LeSueur, Dundas, Wells, Belle Plaine, Elysian, Waterville, Olivia, Morristown, LeCenter, Good Thunder, Owatonna, Shakopee, and Henderson. Most of these rural missions had wooden Whipple Gothic buildings which cost about $1,000, and the Bishop seems to have contributed $500 toward each of them. Based on the cathedral model, mission clergy would live at St. Peter, Shakopee, or LeSueur. (LeSueur even records a parish school.) Each church had either weekly Sunday services or was served on a circuit, and the Bishop visited annually for confirmation.

The missionaries had a tenure of six months to two or three years. Some were deacons; others were professors and students from Seabury; some were under the supervision of the Rector at St. Peter. A few of the early registers of these congregations

are lost. Others were burned in the Seabury fire, indicating that the students had the registers with them at school; but those which remain record a pastoral ministry with poignant notations of crises in the rough, harsh, even bleak frontier villages.

A thumbnail sketch of three congregations to the east of Faribault will illustrate the beginnings and endings of many rural congregations related to the Cathedral.

Holy Innocents' Church, Cannon City

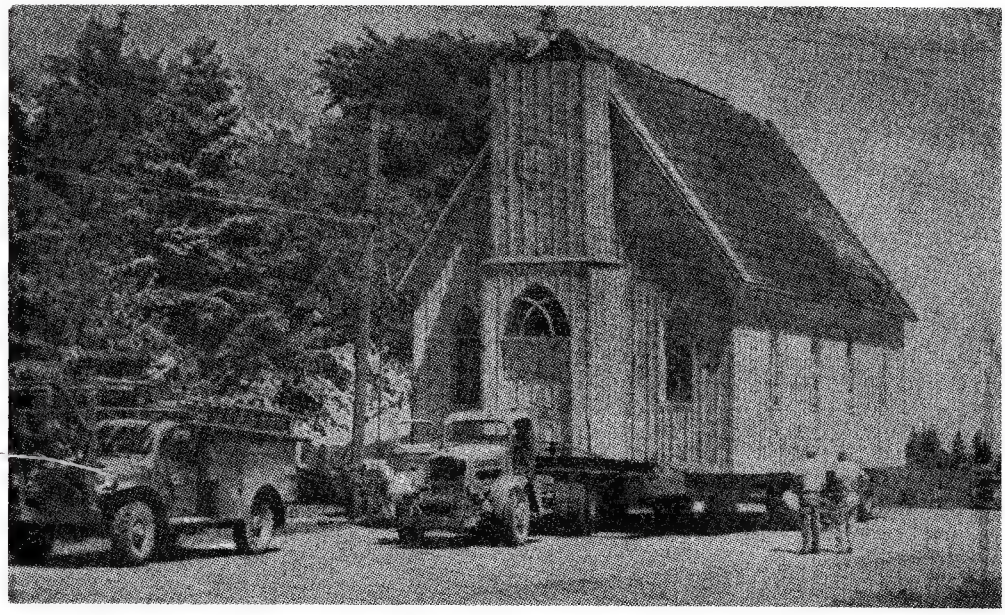
In 1849 Watts Austin Pye, his wife, and their children left England and by 1855 had settled on a farm several miles east of Faribault. They were members of the Church of England and met Dr. Breck in Faribault, whom they recognized by his formal clerical dress. In a short time, Mrs. Pye's two brothers, a sister, and their families all settled in the same area, which came to be known as the village of Cannon City. It was a thriving little village, and there were hopes that it would become the seat of Rice County. But no building was available for a church except the school house. The Methodists were using that but they graciously shared the building on alternate Sundays with the "Piscopals." Then a revivalist came to Cannon City and had such success at conversions and baptisms in the river that he took possession of the school house every Sunday. (He was a "Campbellite" — today we would say a member of the Disciples of Christ.) The Episcopalians moved to a second floor room with an outside stairway for Sunday services, but it was a poor substitute.

At a birthday party for Watts Pye, the matter of church services was the topic of conversation. Before the day had ended, the four families had agreed to build a church. The next day Mr. Pye hitched the team to the cutter and went to Faribault to present the donations to Dr. Buel, the clergyman who had been coming from the Associate Mission. Together they went to Bishop Whipple, and the bishop agreed.

On the way home, Pye stopped at the Cannon City General Store, which also served as the post office. It was January and men had little work to do. Pye offered all comers a hot meal if they would go to the quarry and give a day's work cutting stone for the foundation. Two men volunteered.

Each quarrying day, a beef stew was prepared in an iron kettle, wrapped in blankets and robes; besides there was coffee in a stone jug, sandwiches, doughnuts, and dishes in a basket. Dinner was loaded into the sleigh with a fast team and sent to the quarry. In April, 1868, Bishop Whipple laid the cornerstone of Holy Innocents' Church.

Other families came, among them Dr. Grayham and his wife. Money was raised and donated for leaded windows — one of them sent from St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, N.J., from which Dr. Grayham's wife had graduated. By 1871, the debt was paid and



The old Cannon City church being moved to the Rice County Fairgrounds in 1959; photograph reproduced with permission of the Faribault Daily News.

Bishop Whipple donated an altar, font, and lectern. They were brought from Faribault in a wagon box lined with fresh straw for the consecration on June 24, St. John the Baptist's Day.

Eventually the church would be the place from which members of the Pye family were buried. The Service register from 1937 to 1939, when the Rev. H. B. Morris served the congregation from the Cathedral, lists an average attendance of about 12 at Evening Prayer on Sunday afternoons at 3:00 p.m., with occasional explanatory remarks such as "Roads Impassable." In 1959, the building was moved to the Rice County Fairgrounds by the Rice County Historical Society for preservation. Cannon City itself by then was no more than a cluster of homes along a country road.

The Church of the Ascension, Kenyon

Much of the rich farm land surrounding Kenyon, fifteen miles east of Faribault, was owned in the early days by Stephen A. Bullis. He was regarded by the people of Kenyon as something of an English baron, and he played host to many Church dignitaries who came to Faribault. Several other families joined with the Bullises to form a congregation. Before there was a chapel, homes were used. The Rev. George W. DuBois, Rector of the Parish of the Good Shepherd and part-time traveling missionary, wrote an account of a special service in 1869:

> *The last Sunday in August was the time appointed for the visitation of the Bishop to a prairie missionary station in the township of Kenyon ... The Bishop had been furnished with an accurately drawn sketch of the route from the time of leaving all travelled roads. The rough chart gave the points of compass and estimated distance in miles. The position of 'slues' was carefully noted. The hour of service has almost arrived. The log cabin in which the service is to be held stands solitary and alone upon the open prairie. Everything has been made ready. The Holy Table, with its 'fair linen cloth,' stands in the center of the room; upon it the covered Chalice and Paten, and the beautiful flowers arranged by loving hands. Every bench, and chair, and corner is filled; while outside a still larger congregation gathered. Two hundred people at least are assembled. Presently, from the direction of Faribault, one, two, three, four vehicles of some description are seen approaching. After a careful examination, with the aid of a glass, a farmer exclaims, 'That is the Bishop in front, for it is a covered carriage.' Soon we are able to see distinctly the occupants of the carriage. There is the Bishop in front, and by his side that noble-hearted layman, Mr. William Welsh of Philadelphia. One of the horses is Bashaw, now grown old, but still full of fire. They are coming directly towards an intervening 'slue.' No timely warning can be given. But the anxiety of the spectators is relieved by the assurance that the Bishop has a map of the road, with plain directions, that the white cabin which he sees is a beacon, that he will approach it according to direction to within half a mile, and then turn abruptly to the right. And so it proves ... The Bishop in his robes, the missionary in surplice, the service is conducted with as much dignity and solemnity as in a cathedral. During the sermon, the Bishop stands as in the doorway so that those without and within may hear ... Three candidates are Confirmed. Twenty persons receive the Holy Communion. At the conclusion of the services, while preparations are being made for a slight repast, Mr. Welsh conversed in a friendly way with the assembled farmers. At the request of the Bishop he makes a short address. A wagon box serves as a platform ... The pastor then assembles the children to instruct them in the Catechism and Christian privileges. They gather around him under the shadow of a white willow hedge, and at the close he distributes to each a copy of the "Christian Soldier" and a bright picture card illustrating divine truth.*[19]

The offerings from this service and others were used to buy young steers that would be fed and sold. In three years, enough money had been raised to build a church.

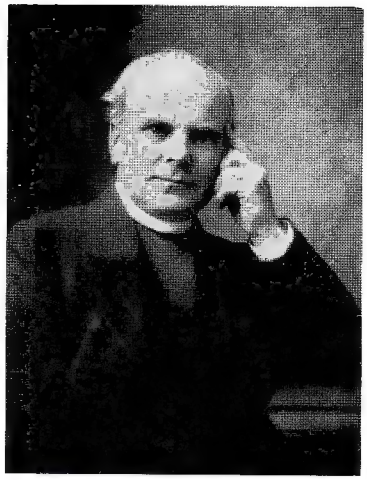
The little church was served not only by missionaries from Faribault. For example, the Rev. William A. Wilkinson came regularly from Minneapolis. Mr. Wilkinson, who had been associated with Trinity Church, Wall Street, New York City, and earned the title "Bishop of Wall Street," used to preach five-minute sermons at noon every working day next to the Stock Exchange; and one of his listeners had been J. P. Morgan. Years later, returning to New York, the preacher went to Morgan's office, told him about the Kenyon congregation, and left with enough money to build a Guild House. The hall had all the equipment of a modern gymnasium—trapezes, swings, low horses, parallel bars, dumb bells, and boxing gloves, not to mention a kitchen, dining room, and small altar.

[19]Tanner, pp. 364-365.

Wilkinson would have an early service at Kenyon and then drive about twenty-five miles further east to St. Paul's, Belle Creek. Following his work there, the Rev. Charles Poole came from Seabury—but eventually Kenyon was settled by Scandinavians, who were predominantly Lutheran. The six or seven families that had been the leaders in the original congregation left as generations passed.[20]

In 1965 the Church of the Ascension — unused for years — was restored and moved to the campus of St. James School for use as a chapel. It remains there today, though the campus was sold to the Wilson Center in 1971.

ST. PAULS CHURCH, BELLE CREEK



Above: *"The Bishop of Wall Street" — not to mention Kenyon, Minn. — the Rev. William Wilkinson.* Left: *St. Paul's, Belle Creek, in 1987.*

In his Convention Address of 1872, Bishop Whipple encouraged the clergy to make use of the growing number of railroads to extend the mission of the Church. Indeed, he said that along each line there should be an "informal associate mission." The clergy of the larger congregations began to travel to the rural communities searching for people to begin congregations. Some of the missionaries who travelled from Faribault and other locations had from three to ten stations. The Church in Belle Creek had its beginnings through the work of an itinerant missionary, the Rev. S.S. Burleson, who had been a teacher in the Parish School at Christ Church, Red Wing, and went from there to Seabury Hall and was ordained.

On his way from Faribault to Red Wing, the Rev. Mr. Burleson was overtaken by a severe storm. Night came on with darkness so intense as to make it difficult to proceed. Seeing a light in the distance, he approached the house and knocked at the door. An elderly man, tall, erect, and of venerable appearance came to the door and bade the stranger welcome, saying he would not turn even a dog from his door in such a night as this. So saying, he brought him in, gave him dry clothing and a warm supper. Observing the clothing, the host asked Mr. Burleson if he were a clergyman. Receiving an answer in the affirmative, the question was asked, 'What kind?' When told, he said, 'I thought so.' At the request of his host Mr. Burleson read a chapter and prayed with the family. After the others had retired, the host said, 'If you are not too tired, I would like to talk with you.' The stranger clergyman, who was never too tired to set forth the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, gladly assented. The host then said, 'I am a local minister of the Methodist denomination, and have been so for twenty years. I have always been a democrat in politics and am in disgrace with my people and the presiding elder because I will not preach politics ...' He further said that his wife had been a member of the Church of England in Canada, and that the clergy there were not allowed to preach politics, and would he tell him something about it? A long conversation followed which lasted into the small hours.[21]

After the late night conversation, the host, the Rev. S. P. Chandler, came to Red Wing to find Mr. Burleson and borrow some books on the Episcopal Church. Under the supervision of the rector, the Rev. Edward R. Welles, he was confirmed, ordained deacon, and after several years, ordained priest. Known to everyone as "Father"

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[20] The authors are grateful to Reginald Kramer for his assistance. The Kramer family was associated with the Kenyon church for many years.

[21] Turner, pp. 305-306.

Chandler, he spent his entire ministry among the people of Belle Creek. An imposing little edifice was built on the hill with a cemetery all around the church.

Subsequent years placed the Belle Creek Church under the pastoral care of the Cathedral. In 1934, for instance, the Rev. Galen Onstad, Canon Missionary, served Belle Creek, Cannon City, Cannon Falls and Kenyon. In the late '30s Canon Morris of the Cathedral was serving these four small congregations, plus a fifth — Holy Cross, Dundas. With time, the village of Belle Creek vanished. The building was left on its hilltop, its windows and furnishings removed, and its churchyard and cemetery stones overgrown.

EXPERIMENTS IN OUTREACH

Three other Cathedral missions show the Church at work in new situations, going where the people were. The first of these, at Roberds Lake in Wells Township, had begun in the usual way. Breck had walked out there and found a few interested people, and for years students and clergy from the Divinity School had continued to hold services, apparently in homes. The Rev. Enoch Cowan, particularly, had "sowed good seed," said the *Democrat* in October, 1874, and now plans were underway to erect a chapel for "not less than a thousand dollars." A "lady friend" of the Seabury Mission had donated a picturesque site near the lake. In May of the next year Bishop Whipple laid the cornerstone of Emmanuel Church. It must have been a gala affair: not only had "a number of ladies and gentlemen" ridden out from Faribault on horseback; two full "omnibusses" had come as well. Besides the typical items the cornerstone contained coins, samples of wheat, corn, and oats, and a bottle of wine. Though services continued to be held, progress on the building was slow; only eight years later had enough money been found to finish it. In the meantime the lakeshore near the church had become a popular picnic spot, and soon the following piece would appear in the *Republican*:

A REQUEST. — The neat little Episcopal church edifice at Roberds Lake, the property of Seabury Mission, stands in a grove just across the road from the pleasure grounds, and there is no fence about the premises. Some of the residents of the neighborhood complain that persons from Faribault, who visit the lake on Sunday, are accustomed to hitch their horses to the trees in the church yard. This results in injury to the trees and is also a desecration of the grounds, which are held for cemetery purposes. This fact has, perhaps, not generally been known, and it is to be hoped the statement may serve to restrain trespassers hereafter.[22]

By the early 1890s an English aristocrat and former New York entrepreneur named Sylvester Manley Pye had bought up lake front property near the chapel and was developing Manley Park. The old pleasure grounds were now lighted with electricity — he had converted the old mill into a generator — the lawns were irrigated, and extensive stables, carriage houses, and a hotel had been built. The park was now *the* fashionable place to go on Saturday nights and Sunday afternoons.

In 1896 the Cathedral began to minister directly to the crowds that were flocking to the lake. Arthur Tripp, organist and choirmaster at the Cathedral, became lay-reader for Emmanuel Church. Occasionally clergymen would also conduct services — that May, for instance, Dean Slattery and the Rev. C. C. Camp rode out one Sunday on their bikes, and late in the summer the rector of Grace Church, Minneapolis, came down to preach. During the summer season, services were offered every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock — when the sporting crowd was largest — and the chapel was often full. (The modest building was "not suitable for winter services," however, so the few Church people who lived year-round at the lake otherwise drove into town to worship at the Cathedral.)

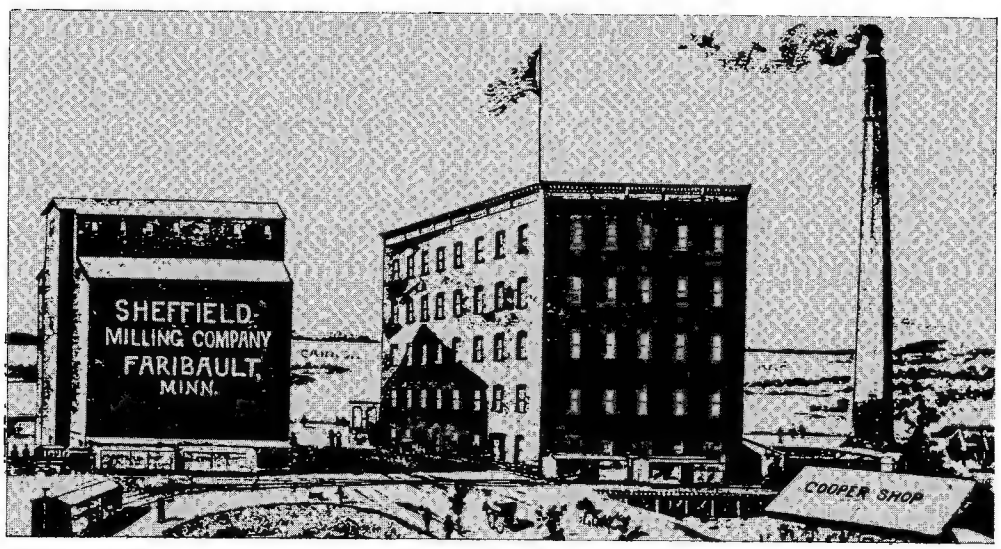
How long this summer mission flourished is unclear. In a few years, Manley Park would be sold for cottage lots. In 1915 the Cathedral Vestry minutes note that the chapel was "in very bad shape," but a detailed report was not made until two years later, when it was decided to raise money for repairs "outside of the Parish funds." In June, 1922, the following motion appears: "Mr. Pye is using church acreage (Roberds Lake) as pasture. Tell him to move his fence where it belongs." And in 1931 the Vestry decided to donate "the old coins" from the chapel — apparently from the cornerstone box — to the

[22]June 27, 1888, p. 3.

Rice County Historical Society. Soon the building would be dismantled. The Scouts and the choir-boys had camped in the churchyard in the '20s, and an occasional service was held — "once a year at least," according to one parishioner, "so the property could remain tax exempt."

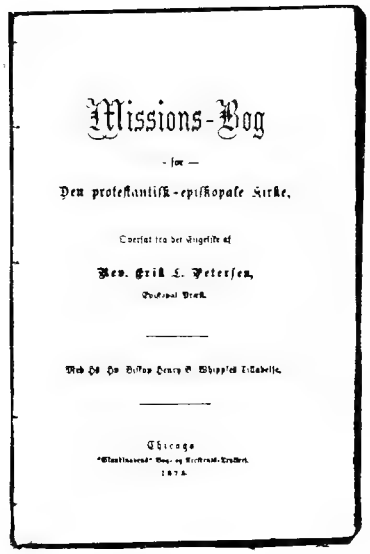
The second mission to meet a special need developed when a new community grew up at the northwest end of town, where the Cannon River flows out of Cannon Lake. During the early '90s the Sheffields had reconstructed the old Polar Star Mill, originally built in 1862 by Alexander Faribault but gutted by fire in 1876. (B. B. Sheffield, who became mayor, was active in the Parish.) In the late '90s a brick office and a grain elevator were built. "Quite a colony" — including a hotel — burgeoned around the mill. In 1897 Dean Slattery's curate, the Rev. Philip Linley, started a Sunday School for the children of the mill-workers. There had been no religious work in the neighborhood before this, and apparently the object was not to develop a new Episcopal parish but to start a non-denominational community church. Classes were held in Sheffield's office. Two years later the Vestry minutes contain this terse item: "A motion was made that the providing of chairs for the Sheffield Mills Sunday School be left to the Sunday School Comtt." And in December, 1904: "Moved that the chairs at the Mission at Sheffield Mill be appropriated to that use." (Were the chairs being used for something else?) The very next words are: "Moved that the Vestry take up the matter of the Infant School Room. Moved that Mr. Sheffield and Mr. Theopold be appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions for the Infant School Room." This was Slattery's project for expanding the Cathedral's own Sunday School space; today it is called Gilbert Hall.

How long the work at the mill operated under Episcopal auspices is not known, but clearly it had changed hands by 1910, for in February of that year "it was voted to loan to Miss Barnes, the Methodist Deaconess, the organ belonging to the Parish in the Guild House; she to use it in her Sunday School at Sheffield Mills ... "So far as is known, no permanent congregation ever got started there. The old structure — soon it became the King Mill — long remained a Faribault landmark. It operated until 1956 — the last mill in the area to close down. A spectacular fire destroyed it on the night of June 19, 1975.



Engraving of the Sheffield Mill, circa 1900.

A third mission to meet a special need developed due to the large influx of Norwegians into Faribault in the 1870s and '80s. While it lasted, the mission attracted many to the Church; unfortunately, its end was sudden and tragic. The idea was not entirely new: both Breck and Whipple, early in their ministries, had worked among Scandinavians. In 1874 the Bishop told the Diocesan Convention that there were now almost 200,000 of them in Minnesota. He felt sure that they would "wield a powerful influence upon our future." Of course, Lutheran congregations for Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and Finns were in many places already established, but many individuals remained unchurched.



Missions-Bog

— for —

Den protestantisk-episkopale Kirke,

Oversat fra det Engelske af

Rev. Erik L. Petersen,

Protestant Church.

Med Hs. Ho. Bisp Henry B. Whipple's Tilladelse.

Chicago

1874

Title page of the Rev. Eric Peterson's Norwegian translation of parts of the Book of Common Prayer, *1872.*

The first mention in a Faribault newspaper of the Rev. Eric Peterson's activities comes in October, 1873: he would henceforth conduct services in the Norwegian language every Sunday at 4 p.m. in the Cathedral. The next year Bishop Whipple announced that he had appointed Mr. Peterson to undertake a "friendly mission" to the Scandinavians of Minnesota. (Apparently in Whipple's mind this was not "sheep-stealing.") Early in 1875 Peterson started holding regular morning services (1st and 3rd Sundays in Faribault, 2nd and 4th in Northfield); there would also be Friday night "lectures" in Faribault. On February 24 the *Republican* reported that the Old Chapel on Elm Street — the remains of the original parish building put up in 1858 — was now "nicely fixed up [with] a pious and homely look"; it added that the congregation at Peterson's first service had been "quite numerous, attentive and devout."

On November 28 of that year the chapel was "filled to its utmost capacity" for the confirmation of a young Norwegian man; and the "exceedingly elegant" sermon of Bishop Whipple was translated sentence-by-sentence by Peterson. In April, 1876, three more young people, belonging to "the oldest Norwegian families in town," were also confirmed, and "the altar was resplendent with burning candles."

So it went for several years. The chapel became something of a community cultural center for Norwegians in town. In 1880 the "mission service" which Peterson had adapted was replaced by his own translation of the entire Prayer Book. Five years later it was said that over 300 Scandinavians somehow packed into the chapel for another confirmation service. Then the press is silent for over two years.

On November 9, 1887, the *Republican* reported the death of Eric Peterson, by suicide. Born in Norway in 1844, he had begun his career as an actor, but later, after "many years of study," had been ordained a priest in the Roman Church. He had followed his compatriots to America and for a time worked zealously to convert them to Catholicism — a task that proved singularly difficult. Eventually he was received into the Episcopal Church by Whipple, and later married.[23] The obituary described Peterson as "well-versed in several languages, and possessed of the most wonderful powers of eloquence." He had, however, been suffering for a year from "dropsy" and been "acting strangely."

Contrary to the prevailing custom if not the law of the Church, Bishop Whipple conducted a regular funeral for Peterson. He did not gloss over the terrible truth. In his address to the next Diocesan Convention the Bishop spoke candidly of the incident but then added, "I loved him for many noble traits of character. He had many trials. He had faults. All I can say is, may God have mercy on him on *that* day."[24] Perhaps this is an instance of an oft-quoted saying of Whipple's: "The Church's first law is love, and the greatest rubric is common sense."[25] In any case, after Peterson's death, the work (to use Tanner's phrase) "rested for a while." In Faribault the Norwegian mission never revived. Later at several points in the Diocese there were Swedish congregations, but the Church's impact on the Scandinavian population never was very significant.

Each of these three experiments in outreach ultimately failed, or at least petered out — as so many experiments do. None represented a radical new approach, certainly, but each showed that the Cathedral was willing to try new methods to meet changing conditions.

THE OLD CHAPEL IS RAZED

A significant event occurred in May, 1896: the building in which the Parish of the Good Shepherd had begun was torn down.

The building known as the Old Chapel, on Elm Street, is being torn down and carted away, and within a few days not a vestige of one of the town's landmarks will remain. The original building, which was fifty feet long, was commenced in June, 1858, by the late Dr. James Lloyd Breck, and was ready for occupancy the September following. It stood in the northeast corner of the square now occupied by the High School Building, and was used during the week for a school building and on Sunday for church service. At the time it was built there were only a few Episcopalians in Faribault, and the number of communicants was even smaller, but Dr. Breck was an enthusiastic worker, and soon the building was too small to accommodate those eager to take part in the services, and a transept was built to the south, a handsome chancel window being

[23] Particularly he is said to have been alienated by the newly-proclaimed dogma of Papal Infallibility. The authors are grateful to Lillian Teisberg of First English Lutheran Church for her assistance.

[24] *Journal of the 1888 Convention*, p. 25.

[25] Quoted by Dean Slattery in his memorial sermon for Bishop Whipple.

put in by friends of the Doctor in Philadelphia. In 1859 a two story addition was made on the Northwest corner, the upper floor being used as a primary school and the lower for a high school. Again in 1865 during the construction of the Cathedral an addition was made in the shape of a transept to the North. In 1870, after the late Reverend Geo. B. Whipple became rector of the Cathedral, the handsome chancel window was given to the church at Warsaw; parts of the building were sold and moved away, and the transepts, which were in the best state of preservation, were moved down to the Cathedral ground and joined together to form what has been known of late years as the Old Chapel.[26]

The demolition of Breck's building was a sign that the times were changing. In its day it had served well — as church, school classroom, temporary parish hall, immigrant mission chapel. But by the late '90s the Cathedral-Parish had come of age. The austerity and missionary fervor of the early period were now largely replaced with an organizational life. The rickety remnant of the "rude chapel" had become an anachronism, though many still felt a sentimental attachment to it. With the loss of this old symbol, the old vision would become less clear.

A NEW BISHOP AND NEW AMBIGUITIES

The Rt. Rev. Samuel Cook Edsall had been elected Coadjutor before Bishop Whipple's death. Chosen by the Diocesan Convention meeting at St. Paul's Church, Winona, in June 1901, the Bishop of the Missionary District of North Dakota would have the right of succession. Upon Whipple's death four months later, Bishop Edsall assumed the administration of the diocese and was formally inducted into office not at the Cathedral in Faribault but at Christ Church, St. Paul. Prominent Episcopalians from Minneapolis were already at Bishop Edsall's home in Fargo when the official delegation — from St. Paul — arrived to inform him of his election. The Minneapolis group had offered him a home in Minneapolis, and renewed their offer two months later. This residence would become diocesan property if accepted, and in his Convention address in January, 1902, Bishop Edsall accepted it. But he also stated that the Faribault Cathedral should remain the cathedral of the Bishop of Minnesota.

The new Bishop, "a lawyer and businessman at heart,"[27] approached his new work with a pragmatic and urban outlook. After two years of travelling throughout the diocese, he told the 1903 Convention:

I have been confirmed in the conclusion that what is most needed, taking the Diocese as a whole, is a "strengthening of the stakes" rather than a "lengthening of the cords." This Diocese cannot expect to receive such large gifts from the East as it did during the age of pioneer romance which the great Bishop Whipple knew so well how to portray. This opening of new missions, and branching out into new work is always fascinating to the zealous Christian worker ... but this work has been so well done in the past by Bishops Whipple and Gilbert and their noble band of missionary clergy, that our more immediate duty would seem to lie in strengthening and building upon the foundation that they have ably laid.[28]

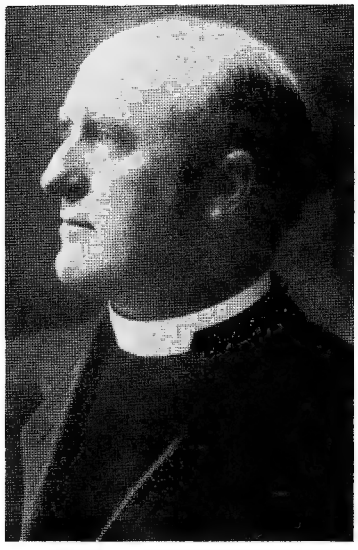
Four years later, he told the 1907 Convention:

In many of the villages and counties of southern Minnesota the population, to say the least, is not increasing; and the opportunities for the maintenance and growth of the Episcopal Church are absolutely decreasing. Death and removal are each year sapping the life of a large proportion of our congregations outside the Twin Cities ...[29]

Had it not been for the students and faculty at Seabury and the vitality of the Parish of the Good Shepherd, Bishop Edsall's dire predictions would almost certainly have come true. Nevertheless, the new Constitution — which Edsall had signed — specifically provided for changing conditions:

Should the Bishop or the Parish of the Good Shepherd at any time wish to withdraw from the Cathedral organization, or to terminate the recognition of the Parish as a Cathedral, no action shall be taken till three months written notice has been given for conference, and thereafter another three months shall elapse before any termination of the relationship.[30]

In effect, with the new Bishop in Minneapolis, the Faribault Cathedral was on hold. It would never again be what its founders had envisioned.



The Rt. Rev. Samuel Cook Edsall, second Bishop of Minnesota.

[26] *Democrat*, May 8, 1896, p. 3.
[27] E. L. Sheppard, *The Second Fifty Years* (Minneapolis: Diocese of Minnesota, 1972) p. 36.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 37. Sheppard quotes the *Diocesan Journal*, 1903, p. 28.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 38. Sheppard quotes the *Diocesan Journal*, 1907, p. 83.
[30] *Cathedral Constitution*, p. 4.

Chapter V

THANKSGIVING FOR BISHOP WHIPPLE

Statue of Bishop Whipple included in the reredos behind the high altar of Washington Cathedral; photo by Morton Broffman, used with permission of Washington Cathedral.

Henry Benjamin Whipple became almost synonymous with the Faribault Cathedral and the Diocese of Minnesota. He moved graciously among Indians and blacks and rural congregations, among sophisticated Easterners and tycoons in Minneapolis and St. Paul, among bureaucrats and bishops, among professors at Oxford and Cambridge, even among Presidents and the dignitaries of Victoria's royal court. The Federal Building at Fort Snelling bears his name. The history of Minnesota and of the Indians give him a prominent place. Within the Diocese, at his Cathedral, and in Faribault, he is still revered. Many of the tiny missions he used to visit still display pictures of him.

In 1899, on Ascension Day, the so-called "National Cathedral" — the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul — was begun in Washington, D.C., thirty years after the Cathedral in Faribault had been built. As a memorial to Bishop Whipple, a collection of rare books was given to the library of the Cathedral in Washington. This collection, named for Carlessa S. Wiggens, includes an exquisite manuscript volume of 200 pages believed to have been produced in the fifteenth century in southern Germany or the Netherlands. A statue of Whipple fills a niche in the reredos behind the high altar of that great church.

At the Faribault Cathedral, among the thank-offerings for Bishop Whipple is a Book of Remembrance, hand-illuminated by Miss Stella Cole and Dean Slattery, listing the names of all who contributed to the Bishop's Tower. It is an exquisite example of local art — and, like the tower, a fine testimony.

THE BISHOP AND CORNELIA

Despite his fame, the Bishop was very much a family man. The Whipple home in Faribault bustled with domestic and churchly activity. In addition to their own children — Lizzie, Cornelia, Jane, Charles, Frances, and John — the household often included others as well. When Cornelia and the children came to Faribault in May, 1860, the schools of the Bishop Seabury Mission housed some of their numerous students in the homes of the missionaries. Like Mrs. Breck and Mrs. Manney, Cornelia took in boarders — in the earliest days for $1.50 per week, which included laundry. Cornelia was often hostess to the divinity students and clergy. Following Mrs. Breck's illness and death in 1862, Cornelia's personal involvement in the schools increased — as did her domestic duties. Her husband was seldom at home. His travels throughout the frontier and Indian country were extensive and arduous. Sometimes, though, Cornelia went along. In the summer of 1862, not long before the Dakota Conflict, she wrote about her impressions of a visit:

July 27th

My dear children,

I cannot tell how long it is since I have written you. I try to find time, but it does not come. I went up to the Sioux country but with the hot weather and the annoyances of mosquitoes and bed bugs I was so completely tired out I could but wonder all the time how your father could stand it, in his repeated long tramps. Our party were all perfectly delighted with their trip. I wish you could have witnessed the Indian dances. We saw two of them. One was the monkey dance where they dressed as near like monkeys as possible. They had a buffalo dance the day before we reached here, when they wore buffalo horns on their heads, no clothes on, only a strip of cloth about their waist. The last dance we saw was what they call a begging dance in front of the agent's home when they expected the agent would give them something, but he did not think best. We went up to Yellow Medicine forty miles above and went to the camp grounds of a wild tribe called the Yangtonaise. You would have been afraid of them, they looked so wild. We had our interpreter and they would surround our carriages the moment we stopped. We bought a few of their ornaments, but poor creatures, poor as they were they were loath to give up their ornaments. We returned home and spent two weeks, and are now on our way to Chippewa Country. We made 70 miles yesterday in the stage. Tomorrow we ride 50 more ...[1]

[1]Letter quoted from Mrs. Oehler's monograph.

"As I look back upon those early years, my heart is full of gratitude for the signal protection of Almighty God in saving my life when lost in the winter blizzards which sweep over our prairies.

"In the fall of 1861 I visited our new mission to the Sioux, reaching New Ulm at noon. There was the outlook of an impending storm ... I asked Mr. Robert, an Indian trader, if he thought I could ride to the Indian Agency that afternoon, thirty miles distant. He said, 'Have you got old Bashaw and his mate?' I answered yes. 'How are you dressed, Bishop?' 'I have got a fur coat and a buck-skin suit in my carpet bag.' 'Well, Bishop, I'd put them on. You don't know what you will meet. If you are driving with gloves, I'll lend you a pair of fur mittens, and you better take off your boots and put on two or three pairs of socks and moccassins. You'll find three or four houses in the first seven miles, and then it's 23 miles across the prairie without a house, and when you get there you better let the horses out the best they know. You can see the path by the grass on each side of the road.'

"But there was one thing that Robert had forgotten. The grass had been burned on the prairie. I thought I knew the road and drove on rapidly. As I rose to the top of a hill I saw the stubble under my horses' feet and knew that I was out of the road, but being almost like an Indian in my bump of locality, I had no fear and turned back to follow my track, but found it obliterated. I then started in a direct line for the Agency but found the prairie cut up by coulees where the snow was piled in large drifts, and I saw at once that I would ruin my horses, and I came back on the prairie and after a little was hopelessly lost.

"The thermometer was thirty degrees below zero, it was dark — not a star in sight — and the wind almost a blizzard. I knelt down and said my prayers, threw the reins upon the dashboard, hoping to wear out the night.

"After several hours, Bashaw stopped so suddenly that he threw me from my seat. I sprang out of the sleigh and found what looked like a large snake in front of the horses. I put my foot on it and found it was an Indian trail, and it led me to the Agency about one o'clock in the morning. I can recall several similar experiences.

"Amid all these perils of winter storms, spring freshets, and muddy roads, there was this comfort; ... pioneers gave me such a heart and home welcome as only pioneers can give."

At this point in the narrative the voice of the story-teller changes; George Tanner adds this comment: "The Bishop playfully said that one of the best missionaries of the Church was his dear old Bashaw. This noble animal* was a present to Mrs. Whipple by a relation who was offered twelve hundred dollars for him, and she said [to the Bishop], 'Bashaw shall be yours to do your work.' He knew every road in the Diocese and has been known to take the bit in his mouth and force his driver to go where he wanted to go — and he always brought the Bishop out in safety."

— from a memoir dictated to George C. Tanner in 1892 but never published [typescript copy in Minnesota Historical Society], pp. 19-20

*Bashaw was in the same bloodline as the famous racehorse Dan Patch. In another place Whipple says that Bashaw "carried me nearly forty thousand miles in my western work."

Favorite Food of Famous Folk

A Campfire Menu.

THE first requisite is to have a healthy appetite, such as the pine, balsam, and fir forests alone can give:

1. Skewer your partridge, duck, venison, or bear's meat on two sticks in the form of St. Andrew's cross; above this have a piece of bacon tied to a stick. Place before a good fire, cook slowly, turning it round from time to time.

2. Knead bread thoroughly in the top of sack of flour, with a pinch of salt. Select a hardwood stick, size of your wrist, scrape clean, wind your well-kneaded dough around the stick, place on the windward side of a hot fire, turn it from time to time, and in a few moments you have a crisp, hot roll.

3. Clean your fresh caught fish nicely, lay very thin slices of bacon over it; lay a row of hot stones in a trench, cover with fresh grass or leaves, then your fish, another layer of leaves and hot stones, cover with earth. In a half hour you have a dish worthy of a King.

4. Boil water quickly; the moment it boils pour it on your coffee, let it stand a few moments on hot coals, and pour a little cold water in the coffee pot to settle.

5. If dessert is to be had, call it after Father Gear's way, "Gape and Swallow Pudding."

"The Sainted Cornelia," Henry Benjamin Whipple's "right hand" for 48 years.

A Campfire Menu

The editor of a cookbook had asked Whipple to contribute a favorite recipe, and he agreed with proper Victorian mock-reluctance ["Ask a bishop to teach cookery!"]. Perhaps the following was typical "trail food" for Whipple in the early days:

"The first requisite is to have a healthy appetite, such as the pine, balsam, and fir forests alone can give:

"1. Skewer your partridge, duck, venison, or bear's meat on two sticks in the form of St. Andrew's cross [*i.e.*, an X]; above this have a piece of bacon tied to a stick. Place before a good fire, cook slowly, turning it round from time to time.

"2. Knead bread thoroughly in the top of sack of flour, with a pinch of salt. Select a hardwood stick, size of your wrist, scrape clean, wind your well-kneaded dough around the stick, place on the windward side of a hot fire, turn it from time to time and in a few moments you have a crisp, hot roll.

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"5. If dessert is to be had, call it after Father Gear's way, 'Gape and Swallow Pudding.'"

—from *Favorite Food of Famous Folk* (copy in Minnesota Historical Society) p. 81; unfortunately, no details are given about the pudding.

But as Bishop, her husband was often in the East on both Church and political business — and always raising money! During the winter of 1864-65, thanks to the largess of Robert Minturn, he was in England — and Paris, Rome, Spain, the Holy Land, Constantinople, and Egypt — for his health. (In Jerusalem he caught "Syrian fever" and almost died; in Paris he suffered a relapse and could not return until July.) John Milton's line, "They also serve who only stand and wait," could have been written to describe Cornelia — but she had no time to stand, or sit. Before the summer was over, the Bishop was touring Ojibwa country, looking after the Indians who would soon be sent to a reservation at White Earth. He wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "If those people are not satisfied, they will start another outbreak."

Cornelia was the inspiration behind one of the projects dearest to the Bishop's heart — his school for girls. For several years, Cornelia largely managed its operation. The Bishop borrowed money and, in the spring of 1866, an addition was begun at the Whipple residence. Cornelia became "housemother" to the 25 girls enrolled, among them Jane and Frances Whipple. The responsibilities were heavy. As the Bishop wrote, "In my own house a beloved wife is doing for this work more labor than any three servants ought to do."[2] By winter, Cornelia was ill, and during 1867 the Bishop planned his work so as to be near her. They returned to New York to be among family and friends, again visiting in Rome and Adams. Bishop Whipple was now 45. Family life was closer that year, but there were troubles too, particularly with John, the youngest.

In 1868-69, deeply involved in the settlement of the Dakota on one hand and Ojibwa on the other, seeking financial and moral support wherever he could find it, and grieving over the sudden death of Dr. Manney from blood poisoning, Bishop Whipple was quickly exhausting himself. Early in the spring, he had begun a trip to Fort Wadsworth, where the relocation of the Dakota was in progress. On the way from St. Cloud, caught in a blizzard, he spent a sub-zero night in a haystack. He did manage to reach the fort, but chill and fever had overtaken him. As the summer progressed, though he had still not regained his health, he continued his heavy schedule. His doctor recommended a rest in France. In the late fall, he left for the Continent. Cornelia and the children, and the mission community had to celebrate Christmas without their Bishop.

After the winter of 1869, Cornelia travelled more frequently with the Bishop. She accompanied him to the General Convention in Baltimore, and from there they went to Havana, where he was offered the Bishopric of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), which had recently been placed under American jurisdiction. (The Rev. George Whipple, the Bishop's brother, was then a missionary in the islands.) The offer was tempting, but his mission was at Faribault.

In 1871, the citizens of Faribault built the Whipples a new and larger home, located directly across from the Cathedral, to assure their continued residence in the city. Maj. William Milligan, who had served under Grant and then come to work on the cathedral crew, stayed on as caretaker of the Bishop's home and as Cathedral verger. Sixty years later he would still be at the residence, living like a hermit in the basement!

In 1877, the Whipples had purchased a home of their own in Maitland, Fla., and on February 15, 1878, the Bishop and Cornelia were there to celebrate his 56th birthday. The next month they received a note from their son John, saying that he was leaving home "to see the world." He was nearly 21. After Easter, the Whipples returned to Faribault. The Bishop visited congregations in the Lake Superior area. Cornelia went with him, and while they were there, the family was notified that John's body had been found floating in the river at Louisville, Ky. Charles left Faribault at once, identified the body exhumed from the "Potter's Field," had it packed in ice, and came with it toward Faribault. But in Chicago it had to be buried.

Three years later, in 1881, their daughter Cornelia died in childbirth. Frail since her marriage to Dr. Rose, she miscarried several times. The family began planning a memorial church in Maitland for their two departed children. Money was donated in both Minnesota and Florida, and on March 17, 1883, Bishop Whipple consecrated the building — calling it, naturally, the Church of the Good Shepherd. It was in the

Informal picture of Bishop Whipple as an old man.

[2]Letter to Stewart Brown, Esq., August 27, 1867. (Minnesota Historical Society)

The Whipple house, before the library and music room were added in the late 1890s; just over the main entrance (left) is a cross, barely visible, which Charlotte Conklin remembers was still in place during her childhood.

"Minnesota pointed style," and he became its first rector. When he preached, the church was filled with people coming from nearby Orlando and Winter Park. That church was important to their spiritual life and well-being. So was the new home they had built two years earlier — a rambling, two-story house with wide verandas and an interior panelled in "rare woods."

In November, 1889, the Bishop and Cornelia, their daughter Frances, and her two children left to winter in Maitland. As they were passing through Georgia, Cornelia was injured in a train wreck. They took her on to Maitland, but she spent the winter in great pain, bed-ridden. In the spring they returned to Faribault, but on July 16, 1890, Cornelia died. Those who knew Cornelia well loved her — especially the Indians — and

After a Visit to John's Grave

Chicago Sep 29 / 78 4 p.m.

My dear wife,

... After church I lunched at Mr. Kerfoot's and Alice drove me out to the cemetery. I found that the English violets and pansies planted on poor John's grave were growing nicely. I knelt down and said my prayers — oh! It is so hard to think that our Benjamin* lays there and that he met such an awful fate ... It has always seemed to me a strange providence that we should have lived together almost 36 years before a death came, & how sad that the first death should be this ... As for the poor wayward boy, I would not leave him with anyone but God ... He will do right. He may have taken him to save him. Someday we shall know all ... I plucked a few forget-me-nots from the grave & enclose for you — it is a sweet place ...

Do write me a line and tell me how you are — such a wife & such a mother ought never to have one care or pain.

Give much love to Nellie & Jennie & kiss babies.

With love

Yours ever

H.B. Whipple

*Benjamin, in the Old Testament book of Genesis, was Jacob's youngest and favorite son; perhaps this is what the Bishop alludes to. (The letter is in the Minnesota Historical Society.)

to this day she is remembered in the Diocese as "the Sainted Cornelia." The Whipples had been married forty-eight years. Her body was buried at Maple Lawn Cemetery, Faribault, on July 19. Bishop Whipple was devastated.

That fall he was in New York; a friend asked him where he expected to spend the winter. When the Bishop said, "Maitland," the friend offered to send him to Egypt instead. He went first to England, spent Christmas at Paris, and left for Egypt by way of Venice. Whipple preached at St. George's, Windsor, and obtained an audience with Queen Victoria. He also met two "daughters" of St. Mary's who had graduated years earlier.

With the Queen

In a letter to his daughter Jennie, Bishop Whipple described an interview with Queen Victoria:

"...At precisely six, a waiter or servant in black came & said the Queen was waiting for us. We entered a small room, plainly furnished, the Queen was standing by a table with her hand resting on a dark rosewood or mahogany cane. She is short, not as stout as her pictures show her. She met us pleasantly with a smile. The Princess Beatrice stood behind her mother. I said it was a pleasure to meet her Majesty, whom we loved for her Christian home. She spoke of my Diocese & the Indians & said 'you know them very well' ... I told her Majesty a few sample incidents & of the Indians coming so far to see your dear mother.* She seemed touched by it. We remained about 15 minutes and then the Queen bowed graciously & retired. She looks younger than I expected. There are very few crowmarks & none discernable by gas light. She was dressed in plain black serge without ornament, with a widow's cap ... It was a very great pleasure to see the Queen as I did and to hear her. She is the type of a good motherly Christian woman."

—Letter dated Dec. 8, 1890 (Minnesota Historical Society)

*Indians had come from the north to be at Cornelia Whipple's funeral a few months before. One newspaper account mentioned an old Indian woman who had limped slowly towards the cemetery and arrived long after the burial was finished.

Victoria, Queen of the British Empire from 1837 to 1901: she lent her name to an era and a way of life.

What Cornelia had meant to the Bishop can only be guessed at. Their letters — so typically Victorian in their understatement — offer few clues. But she was always interested, supportive, optimistic, *there*. Two years after her death, in an autobiographical account dictated to George Tanner, Whipple recalled this story:

On the plantation where she taught [before their marriage] were more than a thousand slaves. One night an old slave woman came to her room at a late hour crying. [Cornelia] said, "Aunty, what are you crying for?" The slave answered, "Honey, I make ole Massa's shirts and the last shirts I can't make goods, but it's cause I can't see. My eyes is goin and he whipt me today cause I done em so badly." Then [Cornelia] said, "Aunty, don't cry: after this you make the body and I will stitch the bosoms as long as I live here."[3]

The Bishop added that such generosity was "the key to her whole life of self-sacrifice and devotion to the poor." Cornelia had been his "right hand" in all his work.

THE BISHOP AND EVANGELINE

In the fall of 1896, Whipple went East. Now he was 74. Lizzie had gone, too, as had Charles and his wife. Suddenly the Bishop wired home that he had married Evangeline Marrs Simpson on October 22nd at St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City. She was 35. Faribault was, of course, buzzing.

The "Second Mrs. Whipple," as she is often called, had married Michael Simpson, a rich Massachusetts textile manufacturer, 14 years earlier; but he was in his seventies and died not long after. During the next decade she traveled extensively in Europe and

[3]Whipple, *Whipple* (unpublished memoir), pp. 5-6.

Right: *The Bishop and the Second Mrs. Whipple, newly married, 1896.* Below: *Evangeline Whipple, about to throw a bouquet.*

acquired numerous paintings and pieces of furniture, some from the estate of the recently-drowned King Louis II ("Mad Ludwig") of Bavaria. Often she and Miss Rose Cleveland, the President's sister, would winter in central Florida, near Maitland, where they had met Bishop Whipple. Through his efforts Mrs. Simpson had found faith. As the Bishop had written to her: "I showed your picture to my daughter and said [you are] one of the dearest women in the world ... and I told her how God had given me the joy of leading you to the Saviour and how He had unlocked your heart ..."[4] In another letter Whipple said that love for her had made him "young as a boy"[5] - and yet for another year he hesitated, unsure whether he should marry again. Finally love won out, and the Bishop left for Boston. Very few, however, knew that he had anything more in mind than attending the annual meeting of the Peabody Trust.

As soon as Evangeline arrived in Faribault she began to enlarge the "See House" with a library for the Bishop's many gifts, books, and papers — not to mention a gallery for her own treasures and a music room. But she was generous too. The Cathedral had no deanery — so she built one! At the Lower Agency, she would build a parsonage and erect a granite monument to Good Thunder, the first Dakota man baptized by Whipple.

[4]Letter to Mrs. Simpson May 2, 1895. (Minnesota Historical Society) Most of the letters that survive were written by Whipple, so the story is one-sided. Curiously, until just before their marriage he signed the letters "Your Bishop H. B. Whipple."

[5]August 16, 1895. (Minnesota Historical Society)

Left: *The library which Evangeline added to the Whipple house.* Above: *Indian lace-makers, circa 1900.*

In 1897, they went together to the fourth Lambeth Conference, celebrated the sixty-year reign of Queen Victoria, spoke of Indian missions wherever the Bishop could draw a hearing, and went into the Highlands of Scotland.

Back in Minnesota, Evangeline accompanied the Bishop on his visitations. At Birch Coulee, (the Lower Agency) a lace-making enterprise had been introduced in 1895 by Miss Susan Salisbury (the Bishop's niece) and Miss Mary Webster Whipple (the Bishop's cousin). Lacemaking had been started by Deaconess Sybil Carter in 1886 at the Ojibwa mission at White Earth. She in turn had trained Salisbury and Whipple and sent them to Birch Coulee to teach the art to the Dakota women. Miss Salisbury was to remain at Birch Coulee as lay-missionary until her death in 1930, with both clergy and lay persons under her administration.

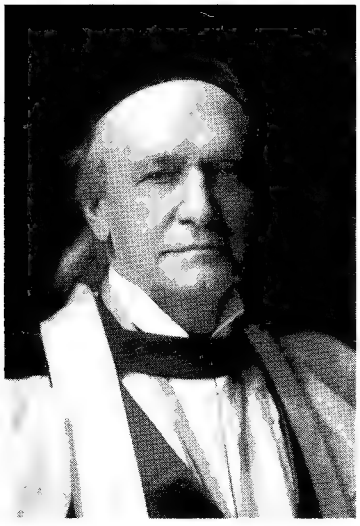
Evangeline recognized the value of this cottage industry. Sybil Carter had been selling the lace in the East at premium prices and obtained such distinguished buyers as the Morgans and the Vanderbilts. Some of the lace had been so finely made that it took a gold medal at the Paris Exposition. Years later Evangeline would write that she had seen "the beautiful piece of lace made for Queen Alexandra of England ... The figures of canoes, tipis, birds and squaws with papooses on their backs, interwoven in the scroll pattern, were designed by the skillful wife of the Rev. Henry Whipple St. Clair, the Indian priest-in-charge of the mission."[6] Lace was also presented to Queen Victoria by the Bishop. He reported that it was kept under a favorite picture of Prince Albert. With lacemaking groups at Red Lake and Leech Lake as well as at Birch Coulee and White Earth, there would be an enterprise in the Indian community to develop marketable skills, utilizing Native American designs, providing much needed personal income, and attaining the esteem of international recognition.

Evangeline's financial gifts enabled her husband's pioneering work to continue after the early interest had waned. They would support the indigenous ministry at Birch Coulee and the work of Enmegahbowh on the Ojibwa reservations.

THE BISHOP BEYOND THE DIOCESE

In 1899, Bishop Whipple was commissioned by Macmillan Press, New York City, to write his autobiography. *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate,* which would

[6] E. Whipple, "The Church and the Dakotas of Birch Coulee," *The Spirit of Missions,* Vol. LXXIV, 1909, p. 203.



Bishop Whipple: elder statesman.

appear in 1902, a year after his death, presents a career devoted to a variety of interests beyond the Bishop's diocesan affairs. He was particularly devoted to education, missions, church unity, and Indian rights. His interest in education outside of Minnesota may be represented by his work with the Peabody Trust, a foundation established to develop education in the South. Whipple said that in 1873, when he was elected a trustee, no public schools existed in the former Confederate states; but by the time he was writing *Lights and Shadows*, there were three million students in the South.[7]

He was considered an elder statesman. This stature lent even greater weight to his advocacy of missions and Christian unity. He had initiated mission work in Cuba and Puerto Rico. He had campaigned for the appointment of a bishop for Alaska, and at "his" General Convention in Minneapolis in 1895 one was named. In 1899 he represented the American Church at the hundredth anniversary of the (English) Church Missionary Society. But perhaps the greatest honor accorded him was being chosen preacher for the centennial of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1889. After a long survey of the Church's development in America, he spoke of the present-day challenge — winning back a society that no longer accepted eternal verities:

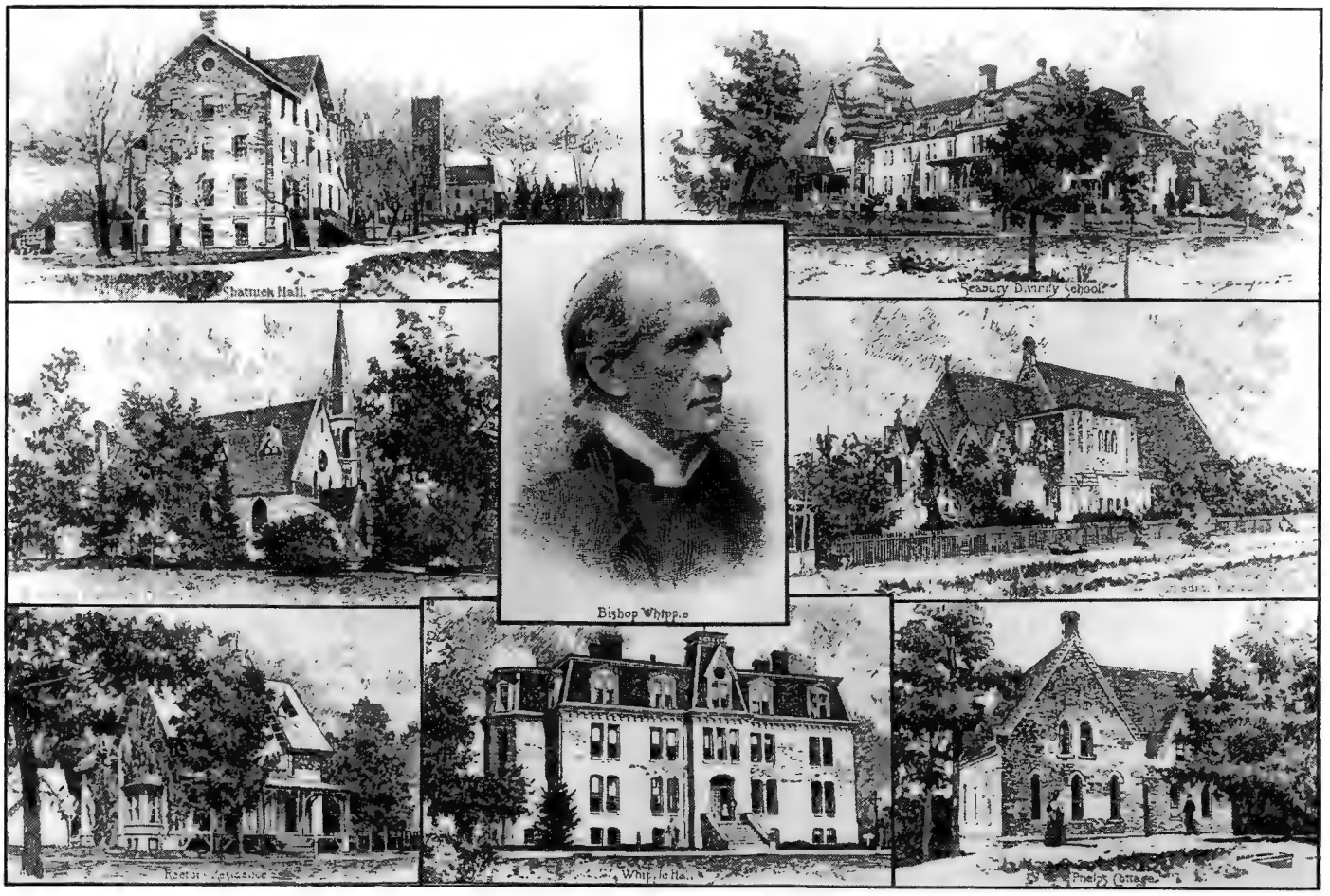
An Apostolic Church has a graver work than discussion about its name or the amending of its canons and rubrics. ... Denunciation will not silence unbelief. The name infidel *has lost its terrors. There is only one remedy. ... When men see in us the hand, the heart, and the love of Christ, they will believe in the brotherhood of men and the Fatherhood of God.*[8]

But the time was short, he said — it was the "eventide of the world." All churches must work together. Most of the things that divide Christians are trivial matters unrelated to salvation. Eight years later, in a sermon before the University of Cambridge, Whipple declared, "They who have been baptized into Christ and have received the Holy Spirit, however separated by the hedges of man's making, are one in Jesus Christ." And so he extolled the missionary zeal of the Presbyterian David Livingstone, the Roman Catholic Father Damien, and the Baptist William Carey.[9]

But perhaps the Bishop's greatest and most persistent work was for the cause of Indian rights. His efforts did not end in 1863, when most of the Indians of Minnesota were driven to the reservations farther west. For many years he served on the Federal Indian Commission, striving thereby to reform national policy. He corresponded tirelessly, spoke at conventions, and sought to influence legislation. During the 35 years between the end of the Civil War and his death, Whipple often stood alone. Once a prominent politician told him that the Indian cause was hopeless: "Bishop, don't you know that everyone is against you?" "Yes," the Bishop replied, "but God is on my side, and that makes a majority."[10] Eventually he became a man of national, even international reputation. Both Oxford and Cambridge honored him with degrees, and he enjoyed telling the Indians about the ceremonies and the scarlet robe he wore. "Kichimekade-wiconaye heap chief!" they said.[11] Unfortunately, though, during his lifetime most of his aspirations for Native Americans remained unrealized. If, nearly a century later, some of his attitudes seem a bit dated, it is nevertheless true that the Bishop was *far* ahead of his contemporaries.

Recognition from the National Church came to Bishop Whipple when the General Convention, meeting in Minneapolis in 1895, journeyed to Faribault. The city opened its doors. Delegates came on special trains donated by the railroads. Four hundred carriages met the trains at the station. The streets were decorated with floral arches and flags, and bands played. The carriages toured the Cathedral grounds and the schools — not only the Church schools but also the state institutions for the deaf and blind. *The Minneapolis Times* reported that the visitors were "surprised that a state so young should be so well equipped with public institutions, and ... were simply charmed with the beautiful scenery that met their eyes from the windows of the cars on the way."[12] At the end of the procession, dinner was served at the Armory by the ladies of Faribault under auspices of the Women's Auxiliary. The 750 guests were served by "a whole army of bright-eyed, pretty Faribault maidens." After the speeches, the whole convention rose and gave Whipple "three cheers and a tiger." He responded saying, "If ...

[7] Whipple, *Lights and Shadows*, pp. 361-362.
[8] H. B. Whipple, Centennial Sermon, in *Five Sermons* (New York: Dutton, 1890), pp. 32-33.
[9] *The Ramsden Sermon* (London: S.P.C.K., 1897), p. 15.
[10] *Lights and Shadows*, p. 160.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 405.
[12] Reprinted in the *Democrat*, Oct. 18, 1895, p. 1; the whole story runs for eight columns.



Bishop Whipple, surrounded by his institutions in Faribault — clockwise from top right: *Seabury Divinity School, the Cathedral, Phelps Cottage (original Seabury library, still standing at Shattuck), old Whipple Hall (Shattuck), the Dobbin House (Manney Hill), the Chapel of the Good Shepherd (Shattuck), and Shattuck Hall (with Shumway Hall and Manney Armory in background). Strange to say, St. Mary's is not represented at all!* (From Harper's Weekly, *June 23, 1888).*

anyone had said I should live to see the representatives of this great American church here visiting Faribault, I should have said, 'Lord, now lettest thy servant depart in peace.'"

THE BISHOP'S LAST DAYS

Even though Whipple had been given an Assistant Bishop in 1886 and the Diocese had been divided in two in 1895, the responsibilities were enormous. The Assistant, who died in 1900, had carried on much of the work during Whipple's activities abroad. Now, in his last year, Bishop Whipple rose to the occasion, doing more in Minnesota than he had done for many years. Charles Slattery, Dean of the Faribault Cathedral since 1896, described those last months:

Almost eighty, he seemed to have the strength of a young man. He was used to thinking of himself ill when the doctor thought him fairly well; and he would refuse to leave his bed, till suddenly it occurred to him that he must keep a distant engagement, and from bed he went upon long journeys, evidenty none the worse. When his wallet was stolen from him he said, "I don't mind the loss of money, but I do mind losing those excellent prescriptions; I think I had twenty in that pocketbook!" We laughed, and felt confident that the elastic constitution which had borne him through many vicissitudes would bear him far into old age ...[13]

In the fall of 1901 he spoke at the opening exercises of Shattuck, St. Mary's, and Seabury Divinity School. He and Evangeline had been to the East Coast in August for a short vacation, but the Bishop returned with a heavy cold. Though cared for by Evangeline, Mrs. George Whipple, and his daughters Jane and Frances, his health declined steadily. Angina pectoris came on.

[13]Slattery, *Faces*, p. 113

Dakota and Ojibwa representatives at Bishop Whipple's funeral.

On September 16, this sad letter was sent out:

To the Clergy of the Diocese of Minnesota
Gentlemen:

Mrs. Whipple has asked me to tell you of the death of our dear Bishop at dawn this morning. The funeral is appointed for two o'clock, Friday afternoon, at the Cathedral in Faribault.

Faithfully yours,
Charles Lewis Slattery, Dean of the Cathedral
Faribault, Minn. 16 September 1901

Two days earlier, William McKinley, President of the United States, was assassinated. *The Minneapolis Times* carried the news of their deaths side-by-side on its front page. "Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple of Minnesota Passes Away at Faribault," read the headline; "Work Among the Indians Made Him Famous the World Over."

Condolences would come to Evangeline Whipple and the family from the four corners of the earth.

It had rained all week before the funeral. The Bishop's body lay in the private chapel of his home. The Mayor of Faribault issued a proclamation closing all shops on Friday in honor of the great Bishop. The public schools closed, too.

On September 20, at 8:30 a.m. Bishop Edsall, who had been elected to succeed Whipple, and Dean Slattery celebrated the Holy Communion in the chapel for the household. The Vestrymen of the Parish then carried the body to the Cathedral, where a large congregation already waited, including over 80 Indians from Birch Coulee and White Earth. A special train was bringing the clergy of the Diocese, but it arrived too late for the 11 o'clock Communion. From 11:30 until 2:00 the body lay in state in the Bishop's Church, attended by the Vestry.

The women at Birch Coulee had embroidered a stole for the Bishop, hoping that he would wear it at the General Convention in San Francisco. Instead he wore it now.

The Cathedral was decorated in purple and white. Massive wreathes of oak hung from the corbels and crowned the Bishop's chair. After the 11 o'clock service, the altar had been moved from its place, and the grave beneath it was lined with purple cloth.

The floor of the chancel was covered with flowers, and the east window — the Good Shepherd window — was framed in white from floor to ceiling, and bordered with oak.

Before 2 o'clock the doors were opened, and as many as possible were seated for the public service. A great throng waited outside.

The procession began at the Guild House and moved to the west doors. Bishops had come from Missouri, South Dakota, Fond du Lac, Iowa, Duluth, North Dakota, and Kansas. Besides Episcopal clergy, there were ministers of other churches, diocesan committees, honorary and active pall bearers[14], and the Cathedral Vestry. Hymns were sung in English, Dakota, and Ojibwa. The St. Mary's girls sang the Bishop's favorite school hymn, "My Ain Countree," and the Shattuck cadets stood at attention at the west door throughout. There were even students from St. James, the school for young boys, which had opened for the first time only a few days before.

The Church Record of Minneapolis described the occasion thus: "It was not a day of sadness so much as of triumph ... there was no ostentation, but it was the thanksgiving to God from many hearts ..."[15]

An Old Indian Priest's Tribute to his Bishop

I write the language of my sorrowful heart. I cannot say much at this time — my heart is too heavy. When I heard that our Bishop had died, I said, "No, this cannot be" I did not think our Bishop could die. ...

I went to Faribault for the last time with my sorrowing people. I said to them, "This time we go to Faribault with feelings unlike any that we have ever had. Before we have gone with bounding step and happy heart..."

Our Bishop was all LOVE. He preached always from the beginning. LOVE! LOVE! "My children, love the Great Spirit — Love one another. Love all other other tribes."

... His voice is silenced — SILENCED did I say? Yes, and no ...

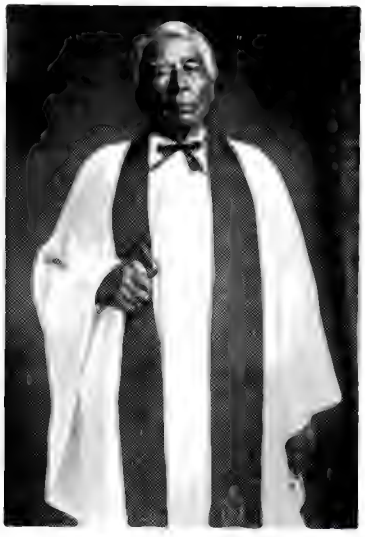
More than forty years ago when I went with him through the forests, he carried his blanket, his robe case and other things, and many times the Indians said, "We must not let him do this. He will kill himself ..." But he would smile — oh, how we loved that smile and every step he took — and say, "O, THIS is nothing! THIS does not tire me" — and his voice filled us with hope and courage.

Our beloved Bishop has stood for over forty years and defended the defenceless. He has spoken and written for the rights of his red children ... when no man gave much thought for the forlorn outcast of the world ... His has been a long battle for us ...

But WE, what are WE to do? What courage can we take away? We are lost children. Our hearts are lead. I bid you farewell.

E.J. Enmegahbowh

—from *The Church Record*, Oct., 1901, pp. 14-15



Enmegahbowh also known as John Johnson.

Years later Dean Slattery recalled that one of the bishops who officiated had said, "You buried your Bishop like a prince." Slattery added, "We hoped we had; for he was more than a prince: he was a dear friend and counsellor, a most loving father."[16]

The ensuing months were occupied with settling the estate. After the Bishop's will had been probated, Evangeline bought the others' share of the See House for $7,500. She lived there quietly for the next eight years, still very interested, however, in the Cathedral and the Indian missions. Suddenly an emergency call came from France: her

[14]J.C.N. Cottrell, the first Junior Warden of the Parish, was one of them.
[15]Oct., 1901, p. 4
[16]Slattery, *Faces*, p. 114. The statement has usually been attributed to Bishop Grafton of Fond du Lac, but Slattery did not identify the speaker. Grafton, an Anglo-Catholic of the highest degree, would have known *exactly* how to bury a prince.

Above: *Evangeline Whipple in mourning.* Right: *the Whipple house with additions that Evangeline built.*

brother, Kingsmill Marrs, was ill. She put Maj. Milligan in charge, with strict orders that the Bishop's rooms and library be kept exactly as he — and she — had left them.

The rooms were never opened.

Evangeline would never return.

THE MEMORIAL TOWER

In 1869, when the Cathedral was consecrated, there had been only a stump of a tower. A project to complete it had been in the planning since 1898, permission had been received from the Bishop Seabury Mission (which technically owned the Cathedral) to proceed, and the Bishop had approved the preliminary drawings. Now with the gifts and subscriptions coming in after the Bishop's death, the tower could be finished. The architects' proposal was included in the notices, distributed widely, that described the Bishop's death and funeral, and included tributes from diocesan committees and colleagues in mission.

Nine days before the Cathedral was consecrated, the first bell had arrived from the manufacturer. Weighing 3,600 pounds, it had been cast at McNeeley's Foundry in Troy, N.Y. But since the tower was roofed over at the second story, the bell had been hung in a temporary frame structure on the south side of the building and surrounded by lilac bushes.

Cram, Goodhue, and Ferguson of Boston was the architectural firm that designed the tower in English Perpendicular Gothic, a style more elaborate than that of the rest of the building. The masonry work was done by O'Neil and Son of Faribault. Instead of using local stone, Indiana limestone was brought in, a material more durable and better suited for pinnacles and tracery.

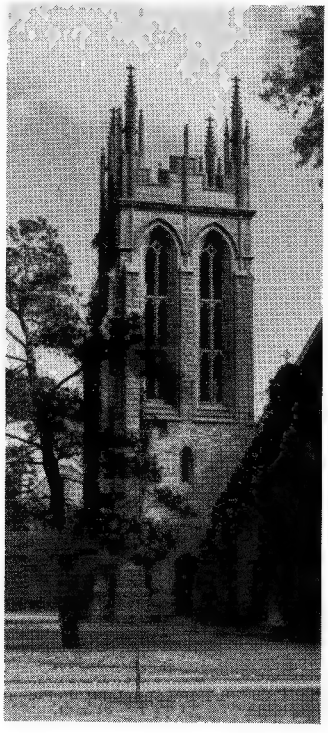
The tower was completed in 1902 at an approximate cost of $12,000 — almost triple the original estimate. It was dedicated on All Saints' Day by Bishop Edsall. Memorial gifts had been received from the citizens of Faribault, Episcopalians throughout the Diocese, and friends of the Bishop in America and Great Britain. The large memorial tablet on the outer north wall of the tower bears a tribute written by Dean Slattery:

This tower is the thanksgiving
of many people for Henry Benjamin
Whipple, first Bishop of Minnesota, and
is the symbol before men of the supreme
value of a righteous man.

Evangeline Whipple's contribution was a peal of ten bells, cast at the McShane Bell Foundry in Baltimore, Md. The purpose of Mrs. Whipple's memorial was set forth on a plaque next to the tower door:

These bells, in memory of the Right Reverend
Henry Benjamin Whipple D.D., LL.D.,
First Bishop of Minnesota, are placed in the
Bishop's Tower with the prayer that
they may ring out in thanksgiving
to our heavenly Father
because He hath given to the people of Min-
nesota, and to many others
for long and happy years the holy ministra-
tions of His beloved servant,
whose unfailing love and hope for humanity
have made his life an inspiration
far and near.
If the fullness of the melody falls first upon
the town of Faribault —
the hearthstone of the diocese which he
loved — the deep vibrations will echo in
hearts throughout our country
and beyond the sea,
whose offerings have made this tower a monument
of love and Christian unity.
Ring on, sweet bells, and join the angelic song
which now our Bishop sings with all the
faithful in God's paradise:
Glory to God in the highest, and on earth
peace, good will towards men.

Erected in the Bishop's Tower of the Cathedral
of Our Merciful Saviour, Faribault,
Minnesota, September 1902 E. W.



The Bishop's Tower.

The first music played on the bells was the hymn-tune *Hark! What Mean These Heavenly Voices!*

The Book of Remembrance, containing names of the original donors to the tower project, represents an amazing diversity: the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lady Ashburton, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Secretary of State John Hay, Enmegahbowh, St. Martin's Sunday School of Fairmont (Minn.), Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan, President Grover Cleveland, Emma Good Thunder, Solon Taopi, "Blind Charley" of Eatonville (Fla.) — not to mention numerous Faribault citizens and members of the Cathedral, and White and Indian churches throughout the Diocese.

The tower and the Book of Remembrance epitomize Bishop Whipple's ministry and influence. For over forty years, the first Bishop of Minnesota had demonstrated the message of Christ and the Church, winning the hearts of White, Indian, and Black — high and low, rich and poor, prisoner and oppressed, people of many languages and creeds. Now, Whipple was gone, but the symbolic tower would ring out the continuing mission of the Faribault Cathedral.

Chapter VI

THE INSTITUTIONS DEVELOP AND DRIFT APART

Ballyhack, the first home of Seabury Divinity School, built in 1858.

[1]Near the present District One Hospital.
[2]One block west of the present site of the Cathedral, at the northeast corner of the block between the park and Sacred Heart Church.
[3]At the bottom of the present-day viaduct, across the street from the Alexander Faribault house; it is marked by a tablet.
[4]*Democrat*, July 3, 1874, p. 1

The two buildings whose cornerstones were set in 1862, the Cathedral and Seabury Hall, signified the theology for mission in Minnesota. The Bishop was chief missionary, and education was the primary means.

When the new Bishop came to Faribault in 1860 he found a school already flourishing. The Bishop Seabury "University" consisted of two departments, male and female, in two different locations in Faribault. The male department offered boarding facilities "with respectable families" and primary, academic, and collegiate studies. The female department was open not only to girls but to young boys also, and there were plans for a "seminary" for young ladies. Land had been given by Alexander Faribault, P.N. Paquin, D.F. Faribault, and Felix Paquin of the local community and the Misses Edwards of New Haven, Conn. On the bluff Breck had built a wood-frame Mission House for himself and his family, a second building for the divinity students, and a dormitory for Indian pupils.[1] Another modest building — the Church of the Good Shepherd — was located in the "Lower Town."[2] On weekdays this chapel was used for the Primary School. There was a second Mission House in the same block, occupied by the Manneys. On June 3, 1858, when the "Faribault Episcopal Institute" had originally opened on the second floor of Fowler's Store,[3] there had been 15 pupils, and three teachers: the Rev. David P. Sanford, Miss Mary Mills, and Miss Mary Leigh. That fall, enrollment had increased, and George Barnhart, George C. Tanner, and Samuel D. Hinman — all divinity students — were added to the faculty. In the fall of 1859 James Dobbin, who was also preparing for the ministry, joined the staff. He would be Rector of Shattuck School for 47 years, from 1867 to 1914, and would found St. James School.

On August 22, 1858, the first Church-School building had been completed, and the classes began to meet there. For the first anniversary of the school, 134 pupils — of the total 167 who had been enrolled at some time during the year — marched in procession to Breck's Mission House on the hill. There the Rev. D.B. Knickerbacker of Minneapolis delivered an address in the forest.

The Bishop must have been bewildered by this multi-faceted operation. His first step was to incorporate the enterprise. It would no longer be a "University" but the Bishop Seabury *Mission*. At this time there seems to have been no coherent plan for the development of the various aspects of its educational work. Breck's head was full of ideas for expansion — but his whole enterprise had been in shaky financial shape. The Bishop was concerned to move slowly and build carefully. As he said in an address before the University of Minnesota in 1874:

When I came to Minnesota the Episcopal Church had a University. Its buildings, endowments, libraries, museums, professorships and students were a myth. It shared its paper honors with many kindred institutions. We had a few boys studying the "3 Rs," a few more in the rudiments of Latin and Greek. I knew that life was short and that, in the West at least, Time waits for no man. I knew we could not build houses from the chimney-top. We were poor but we could be honest. I said, "We will have an honest school and call it by an honest name — a school." *I thought that the public would honor a school which taught collegiate studies, but they might despise a university which kept a parish school. We parted with the university, but we have the* school.[4]

Tragedies and opportunities would determine the paths that the various parts of that school would take, but in the early years after the Bishop's arrival, the work was all one.

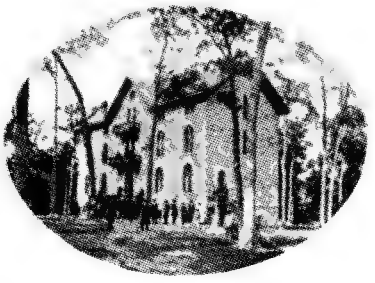
THE EDUCATIONAL MISSION FLOURISHES

During the next few years most of the students were day students. Instruction for a term of eleven weeks cost $4.00; Latin and Greek, $5.00 extra. There were also a number of young men with the ministry in view, but children of any age were accommodated. In 1867, Breck's last year in Faribault, the Parish School had "three departments with an average attendance of about one hundred pupils."

Seabury Hall, a building of stone, completed in 1864 on the present Shattuck campus, provided a separate home for divinity students. Until now the various schools

within the Mission had overlapped, with older students teaching younger students, and all meeting in the same building. With Seabury Hall, the Divinity School started to become a distinct entity. Three stories high with a front seventy-five feet long, it cost $16,000. It included a "valuable library and philosophic apparatus" worth $15,000 but purchased by Bishop Whipple from the recently defunct Kemper College for $2,500.[5] He acquired additional books in England in 1866, especially writings of 17th Century Anglican divines. He had obtained gifts from the Bishop of Chester, the Parish of St. Giles, and some friends at Oxford University. Through Hiram Sibley, the Emperor of Russia presented Whipple with a replica of the *Codex Sinaiticus*. In 1866 he reported a library at Seabury Hall of 4,500 volumes, to which in that same year was added another collection of books from a priest in Rhode Island.

Younger boys from outside the area came to study at the Mission and lived at Seabury Hall. Conditions soon became crowded, and in 1866 a separate building was erected to house the grammar school students. Shattuck Hall began as a dormitory, but soon it became known as "Shattuck School." Six years later, on Thanksgiving Day, 1872, Seabury Hall burned, but within half a year, on May 24, 1873, Bishop Whipple laid the cornerstone for the new Hall — not on the old site but a mile south. Shattuck and Seabury would henceforth develop quite separately.



The original Seabury Hall: William G. Pierrepont, Whipple's "lifelong friend and patron," made the largest donation.

[5]Tanner, p. 273; much of the money was contributed by citizens of Faribault.

A WEEK AT OLD SEABURY

A diary was begun on New Year's Eve, 1865, by Charles H. Plummer, a divinity student. It records a regular discipline of community prayer and study, social activities, and Sunday journeys to rural congregations for teaching and preaching. A few entries give an impression of life at the seminary.

Jan. 3rd. Tuesday.
Today the school commenced. We had a pleasant vacation of a week and one day, during which time I have endeavored to write some upon my sermon but have not accomplished much. Prof. Manney has not yet arrived and, for all the spare time I have, I do not get along with my sermon. Such hard work does it appear to me that I would fain cry out. O! thoughts and words where are you!

Wednes. 4th.
We have now become somewhat settled after the vacation and study begins to hold sway. In the morning again is heard the early bell summoning us to prayers. All things go on smoothly and there is a promise of doing a good term's work.

Thurs. 5th.
Today we had quite a laughable time at our Hebrew recitation, in pronouncing the words. Prof. Manney has not yet arrived and, for all the spare time I have, I do not get along with my sermon.

Friday 6th.
I arose this morning in time to get ready for the early service which is at six. This year we had a very pleasant day for Epiphany as we also had for Xmas, and New Year. There was quite a discussion today about reciting upon Epiphany. Finally Prof. Thomas concluded to hear recitations, in-as-much as the parish school kept. We had a service this evening also in the chapel.

Sat. 7th.
Today I went out skating in the afternoon and enjoyed myself very much. There were several ladies out ...

Sun. 8th.
I attended Church this forenoon and went home for dinner. Today is Mr. Gerry's day for presiding in the see of Warsaw. I attended service this afternoon.

MORE DEVELOPMENTS IN BRECK'S LAST YEARS

The Parish School continued in the Church-School building with the Rev. William J. Johnstone as Superintendent. In 1865 there was a Grammar Department for young ladies with 60 pupils, an Intermediate Department for boys and girls with 44, and a Primary Department with 75. The Parish School lasted several more years, but records have vanished, making it impossible to say how long.[6]

On November 1st — All Saints' Day — 1866, the Bishop and his wife Cornelia opened St. Mary's Hall in their home. As Whipple recalled years later,

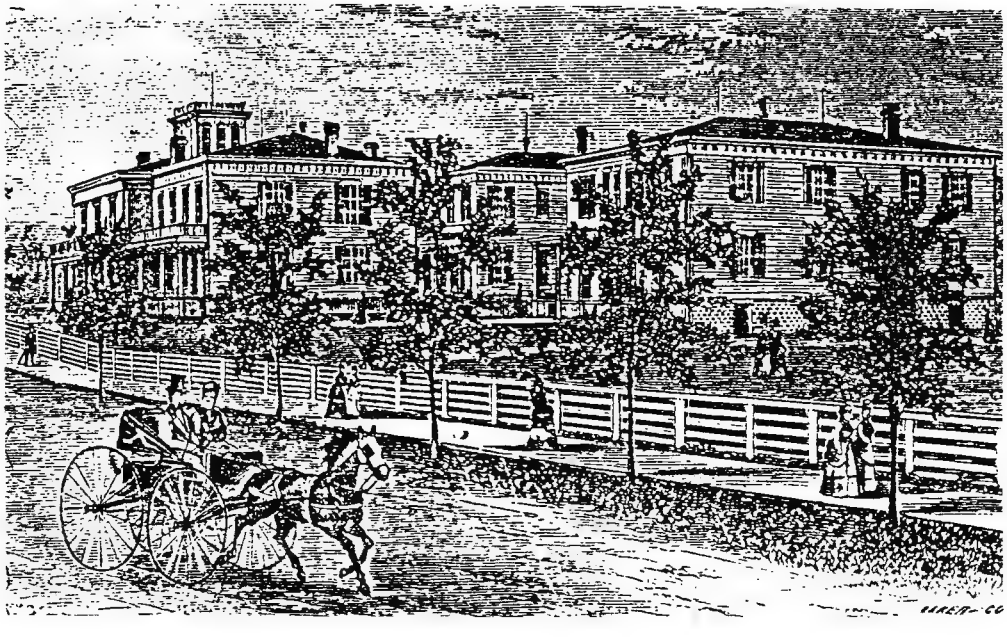
... a friend said to me: "Do you know, Bishop, that some of your church girls have entered convent school?" My dear wife ... was sitting by my side, and said: "You know what that means?" I answered sadly, "Yes, but what can I do? I have a Divinity School without one dollar of endowment ..." With a woman's faith she said: "We can open it in our home. I will be the housemother. We shall surely succeed." ... I borrowed money to build an addition to my home.[7]

Miss Sarah Darlington, a teacher at the Parish School, was appointed Principal. The school provided a place for young ladies to board in a Christian home. The Whipples continued to live there for the next six years.[8] The school was named after St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, N.J., founded by the late Bishop George Washington Doane, a friend of Bishop Whipple's. Whipple described the philosophy of his girls' school in its first catalog: "The end we seek is to train up girls to be all that daughters, wives and mothers ought to be ... The course of study is thorough, the discipline is strict, the motive is love ..."

Life was earnest for the "Mollies," as they were called. That first year, boarding students came from Minnesota, Illinois, and as far away as Connecticut, and brought with them, besides their clothing, "a limited supply of pocket money, an umbrella, overshoes, water-proof cloak, Bible, Prayer Book, napkin ring, six napkins and six towels." The course of study included "instruction in all the English branches [including mathematics, history, geography, etc.], Latin, Instrumental Music, German and French." The terms for a school year, payable semi-annually in advance, were:

For Board, Washing, Lights, Fuel, Instruction in all the English Branches and Latin	*$300.00*
Instrumental Music	*60.00*
Use of Piano	*10.00*
German and French	*25.00*
Medical Attention per year (optional)	*5.00*

The Bishop had hoped that he could provide a free St. Mary's education to daughters of clergy but, lacking endowments, could offer only "reduced rates." Academic work took



Etching of the original St. Mary's Hall (1876 or earlier).

[6]The transepts of the "rude chapel" were moved to the Cathedral grounds in 1870, where the Parish School would continue to meet, and a kindergarten classroom was added.

[7]Tanner, p. 414. The reference to convent schools reveals a serious concern to the Whipples — but even a "catholic" like Breck worried about their influence. Bishop Whipple wrote in 1867 that the Roman Catholics "are acquiring real estate without any stint, they build the most beautiful churches & they plant schools & Protestants send their children to be educated in the Romish faith ..." He feared that "Rome will have this West & the West will hold the nation." [See letter to Stewart Brown, Esq., Aug. 27, 1867; Minnesota Historical Society.]

[8]The first Whipple home was at the northwest corner of 6th St. and Main [now Central Ave.]; the house at 610 Central, though it looks quite different today, was part of the original St. Mary's Hall.

up most of the time, but there was also considerable emphasis on etiquette, the arts, and household management skills.

Above all, consistency seems to have been stressed:

We have one table, one altar, one household. We have few rules, but they are for use, and will be obeyed ... We prefer our children to be simple in dress; we want no jewelry ... Except to provide for our Christmas tree and feast, we prefer that no boxes be sent from home. Parents send us headache and dyspepsia by express ...[9]

Ideally, the Bishop wanted the boarding students to stay on during Christmas and Easter; at first the only official vacation was during July and August.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the special holy days were times of extraordinary celebration — and some of the practices of the first few years still survive in one form or another as traditions among today's "Saints." Christmas involved feasting and gifts as well as special services — at first shared with the Indians. In fact, Indians were frequent visitors at the Hall in the first years, and at least one Molly, all clad in white, was confirmed as she knelt between two Indian girls wrapped in bright blankets. One of them later was a student at St. Mary's.[10]

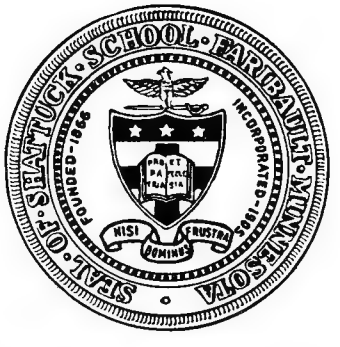
St. Mary's was founded during Breck's last year in Faribault. There were 49 girls altogether, about half boarding, half day students. Though Breck was now Dean of all the schools, he must have had very little influence on it — St. Mary's was very much the *Bishop's* school.

Breck left at the end of that school year. On Trinity Sunday, 1867, Seabury graduated its largest class — five. Since Breck had started the school nine years earlier, Seabury had prepared several notable men for the ministry: Samuel D. Hinman, George Tanner, James Dobbin, George B. Whipple, Enoch Cowan, Soloman Burleson, and Mahlon Norris Gilbert. These young clergy had been trained specifically for the developing frontier. Now Breck would concentrate his efforts along similar lines in the Far West, and the schools he had founded in Faribault would continue to develop — though not always as he had intended.

SHATTUCK COMES INTO ITS OWN

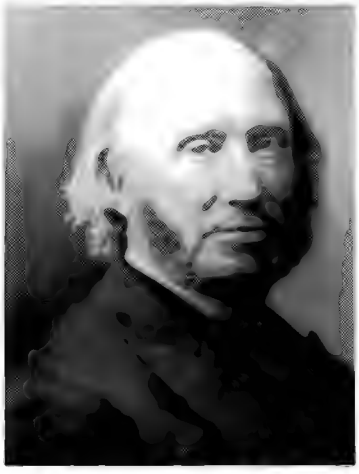
In 1866, the cornerstone had been laid for the first building to be used exclusively by the boys' grammar school. It cost $16,000, part of which came from the sale of lands in Illinois given to Bishop Whipple by George Cheyne Shattuck, M.D. He was a member of a prominent Boston family which endowed numerous civic and religious institutions over many years. Dr. Shattuck himself was one of the founders of the Church of the Advent in Boston (one of the earliest and staunchest "catholic" parishes in the country), and he established St. Paul's School, Concord, N.H. (one of the leading Church preparatory schools). Even a year before the building was erected, the name "Shattuck Grammar School" had been used.[11]

The same year that the boys got their own building, Shattuck acquired its particular character. A student at Seabury Divinity School named Tommy Crump had begun teaching the basics of military drill he had learned while serving in the Civil War. At first the boys used sticks for muskets. Soon blue uniforms were designed for the "battalion," and fife and drum stimulated the marching. On November 4, 1868, at the request of Bishop Whipple, Gen. U.S. Grant assigned a regular Army officer, A.E. Latimer, to the Mission. Thus Shattuck became the first secondary school in the United States to have a military program. With Latimer came the grey school uniform, 120 muskets, and two 12-pound field pieces. Shattuck would become famous throughout the nation for its military discipline. At the same time it would train many men — particularly in the early days — for the Church's ministry. Bishop Whipple believed that military drill could help build character. "The first lesson of life," he said, "and its last is *obey*." He enjoyed telling about the arrival of Latimer: "A border man, seeing the army officer ... said to a by-stander — 'There is one of Uncle Sam's boys; what is he doing here?' 'Oh ... the bishop has got him to drill his theologues so that when there's a fight about religion he will be ready.' " The Bishop knew, however, that discipline is not enough:



Seal of Shattuck School. The two Latin mottoes are Nisi Dominus Frustra *(the first words of Psalm CXXVII – "Except the Lord build the house, their labor is but lost that build it") and* Pro Patria et Ecclesia *("For the Nation and the Church"). For many years the school has claimed 1858, not 1866, as the date of its foundation.*

[9]*Circular of Saint Mary's Hall*, 1867, p. 9.
[10]Alice Johnson Blair, 1876, in *Mollies' News*, 1932, p. 12.
[11]*The Second Annual Catalogue and Circular of the Shattuck Grammar School*, 1867.



Top left: *Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck, Boston physician who gave the first large gift to the boys' grammar school.* Below: *Tommy Crump, Seabury student who started the military tradition at Shattuck; later he was minister of the Church of the Redeemer, Cannon Falls.* Top right: *Shattuck Hall, built in 1864.* Below: *Sham battle at Shattuck, an annual highlight of school life for many years.*

Lights and Shadows, p. 195.
Democrat, July 3, 1874; from an address at the University of Minnesota.

"With it there must be wise pastoral care and a presentation of Christian truth which will kindle in young hearts love to God and man."[12]

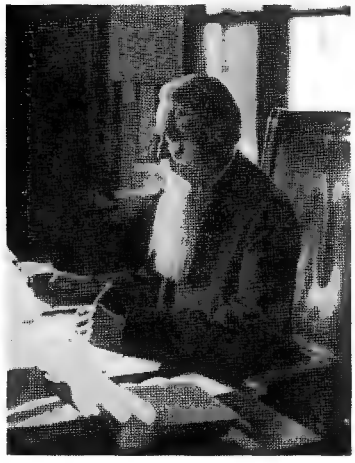
When Breck left, James Dobbin was appointed Rector of Shattuck, and the Bishop's plans for the school soon began to be realized. Whipple's model was the English "public" school, as he understood it:

I visited [in 1864] such schools as Rugby and Eton ... They told me that even to build a school *I must begin with a score of boys, that a hundred boys would ruin me. A school was a living being ... It grew. Its character was made up of the discipline, morals and traditions of all who became its pupils. I came home a wiser man, and resolved that if it took twenty men like me to lay the foundation, we would have one good* English *school.*[13]

James Dobbin, Rector Perennial

"The Rector, as he was commonly called, made an imposing appearance. Tall and thin, always dressed in black, he wore a full, flowing beard which covered his chest like a mantle. In the early days of Shattuck the beard was very dark, even menacing, and gave him the nickname "Black Jim the Rector." As succeeding years frosted the great beard — he was at the school for 47 years — the sons of earlier Shattuck boys came to calling him "White Jimmy the Rector." Dr. Dobbin's whole life was one of sacrifice for Shattuck. In 1867 when he took up the work begun by Dr. Breck, he was instructor, business manager, spiritual leader — ever steward. In his first year as Rector, the total income was $8,617.75 — yet he made his books balance. He was able to boast that he never called upon his trustees to make up a deficit in running expenses. There were those who criticized his "penny-pinching," but these were lean years. Sometimes it was doubtful if he received his own salary. The well-worn, two-seated Shattuck buggy was a familiar sight. He seldom smiled, in fact, would scarcely be said to have a sense of humor — as is shown by the often-quoted remark he made after Harry Whitney had taken him rowing on Cedar Lake. Although he had been sitting under an umbrella for the entire excursion, he said as Harry reached shore, 'Well, that is *just* the sort of exercise we *all* need.' "

—based on an account by Dr. Nuba Pletcher



Top: *The Rev. James Dobbin, Rector of Shattuck, 1867-1914.*
Below: *Professor Harry Whitney.*

Dobbin was concerned to enlarge both the enrollment and the faculty. In 1867 there had been four teachers: the next year there were seven, and the year after that, nine. Shattuck's first college preparatory graduate, Harry E. Whitney '71, returned in 1874 as Latin professor — a post "Pa Whit" would hold until his death in 1926.[14] One long-time faculty member who increased Shattuck's academic reputation was William W. Champlin, "Old Champ," who taught at the school from 1870 to 1899. A mathematics textbook he wrote was used widely, helping to establish the school's name.

The curriculum was extensive with offerings not only in Latin and Greek and mathematics and science, but even in logic and psychology. Sacred studies were integral throughout the curriculum.[15] The "professors" in some cases were clergymen who had additional responsibilities in the Divinity School and at the Cathedral and its missions. As James M.L. Cooley, himself a master at Shattuck for many years, later wrote, "They must have been devoted to teaching and to boys, because the pay was small even for those days, the hours long, and the work confining. They literally worked, ate, slept, played and prayed with the boys."[16]

When Dobbin took over, Shattuck had seventy boys, and not until 1873 did the enrollment surpass one hundred. A new building was added the next year — and the year after that, 25 qualified applicants could not be accepted for lack of space. By 1884, there were 165 boys, and four years later, 201. Over twenty alumni of Shattuck had entered the ministry, clearly fulfilling one of the school's main educational goals.

But Shattuck's mission was now broader than it had been in Breck's day: young men were also to be prepared for the professions, business, the military — and particularly for public service. As one of Shattuck's Latin mottoes puts it, *Pro Patria et Ecclesia* — "For the Nation and the Church." The concept of public service had long epitomized the English public schools. Perhaps it was inevitable that Shattuck, like the English schools it was then modeled upon, would become identified with privilege, even though scholarships always assured that those of modest means would be represented.

Public service demanded character-building, and strict rules were the means for attaining it:

[14]He was probably the Latin teacher who carried secret notes from the boys at Shattuck to the girls at St. Mary's under his hat band as he walked from one school to the other for classes.
[15]For many years there was "Bible Study once a week in all courses." "Courses" probably referred to the specific tracks — each of which had different diploma requirements: Greek course, Latin Scientific course, Scientific course, English course. (Only the English course did not require Latin.)
[16]*Ninety Years of Shattuck School*, 1949, p. 11.

Top: *Augusta Shumway, donor of the Chapel of the Good Shepherd, Shumway Hall, a scholarship endowment, and Johnston Hall.* Below: *Shattuck Chapel — the west end is unchanged.* Right: *The Chapel before the chancel was enlarged and squared-up in 1926. Note the pulpit, at left, which was installed in the Cathedral during the 1870s.*

Only such rules are imposed as may be necessary to correct or prevent improper conduct. Besides this, every effort possible is made to imbue the school with a manly, Christian spirit, and thus make a cheerful obedience the means of elevating the character. The following habits are strictly forbidden:

1. *The use of tobacco in any form;*
2. *The use of ardent spirits;*
3. *Visiting saloons or billiard rooms;*
4. *Profane or obscene language;*
5. *Playing cards;*
6. *Leaving the school grounds without permission;*
7. *Reading books and papers not approved;*
8. *The contraction of debts.*

The habitual violation of any of these rules are [sic] sufficient ground for removal.[17]

Each student when he entered was given a "capital" of fifty good marks, and if he lost them all, he was dismissed. Fortunately, one could also earn merits to offset one's losses.

Of the historic buildings on the present Shattuck campus, the oldest is a small stone cottage originally erected in 1869 as a library for the Divinity School by Lucy C. Phelps of Winsted, Conn. The large main academic building whose tower dominates the campus was given by an old friend of Bishop Whipple's, Augusta Shumway, in 1887; and the adjoining refectory was built the next year by Junius Spencer Morgan of London. (It imitated a medieval structure at Winchester, one of England's most ancient schools.) The Johnson Armory and Library building was added in 1909.

The architectural gem, however, the Shumway Memorial Chapel of the Good Shepherd, had been built much earlier. Consecrated in 1872, the chapel was constructed of limestone quarried on the campus; its stained-glass windows and many of the furnishings were imported from England. The British influence is evident here too: the "choirwise" seating imitated the arrangement typical of public school and university chapels. To this day, at least once a year, students and faculty are told the story behind the chapel as an illustration of the importance of keeping one's word. Bishop Whipple told the story this way in *Lights and Shadows*:

My dear friend, Mrs. Augusta Shumway, whom I knew in Chicago, offered to build a chapel for Shattuck, and it was partly finished when the Chicago fire destroyed a large part of her property. But she said to me a short time after: —
"Bishop, I promised God to build the chapel in memory of my daughter. I owe but one debt, and that is to God. I have collected enough insurance money to complete the building, and here it is" It was a noble instance of woman's faith.[18]

Only after she had met this obligation did Mrs. Shumway look after her own needs.

[17] *Catalogue and Circular, 1873,* page 22; quoted in Cooley, p. 12.
[18] pp. 194-195.

From Two Shattuck Boys' Diaries

"Easter Day, 1883 — The sun appeared a little while. The Cathedral service was quite interesting and the singing by Shattuck choir beyond my expectations ... The p.m. service in the Chapel was the most enjoyable of all. The St. Mary's girls were in attendance ... Saw 'Bright Eyes' to advantage and she looked lovely ...

"Low Sunday — A very nice day ... Battalion came out in full dress today at the Cathedral. The Sermon, which was exceedingly interesting, was preached by Rev. E.C. Bill — Text, 'What seek ye? The p.m. service in the Chapel was also interesting, and Sermon upon the honesty of the school, etc. ...

"April 15 — A blowing and dark day ... Did not go to Cathedral this a.m., but had services in the Chapel. Good? ..."

* * * * *

"Wed., March 10, 1886 — Sick with ear ache. Lent began. Battalion went to Cathedral

"Sun., 21 — Nice day — too much snow to go to Cathedral ...

"Sun., May 2 — McDonald's birthday. Church. [Several boys] skipped & got caught.*

"Sun., May 9 — We went to Cathedral this morning. Raining hard this afternoon ... The Rector preached in the Chapel this afternoon ... The dormitory was put out of bounds — someone wet McClary's bed. We had ice cream tonight for supper. I killed a woodpecker this morning.

"Thurs., June 3 — Ascension Day. We went to Cathedral this morning without the guns, and there was no Sermon. Half holiday this afternoon and 4:30 roll call. I went off bounds with Sanford, boat riding in the mill pond. Company drill and pictures taken ..."

*One of these miscreants had been in other trouble and was expelled.

Henry Whipple St. Clair as a Shattuck cadet. Born at the Faribault Indian colony, he later served as a priest at the Morton mission and in South Dakota.

From a Shad's Account Book, 1879-80

Oct.	22	2 scratch books	$ .26	Nov.	23	At Church .05
		Hair cut .20				Postage .06
	26	At Church .05			30	At Church .05
		Prayer Book 1.00				Fare to St. Paul 1.15*
	29	Pocket money .30				Dinner at St. Paul .50
		for Chapel .15				Fare to Faribault 1.30
		1 pr. Shoes 5.50		Dec.	1	Pocket money .30
Nov.	1	at Church .05				3 pr. Socks 1.05
	5	pocket money .30				Church .50
		For Chapel .15				

*from Henderson, Minn. (north of St. Peter)

Above: *Shads going to Evensong in the snow. (Note the polygonal east end of the Chapel.)* Right: *The last football team that played the University of Minnesota.*

Shattuck Football in the '70s and '80s

The game first came to Shattuck in 1877. Someone brought a football to school, and it was a popular pastime to kick and pass it. Some sort of scrimmage was played in the spring of 1878 and Shattuck was mentioned as the winner, but no further details were given. Football got its real start at Shattuck in the fall of 1879 when Charles C. Camp came from Yale to teach Greek and Latin. He introduced the rules, Rugby-style more or less, and set up a proper field. In one of the games that fall there were "two goals and eight touches down." The football kick was included in track meets at this time, and in 1883 Bronson punted it 173 feet — "a possible world's record," speculated the Cadet!

In 1884 Shattuck's team was challenged by nearby Carleton College. At that stage the center was called the "snapper-back" and the linemen were called "rushers." A touchdown counted four points, and a goal after a touchdown two points. The Shads won, 24-0.

Fred Jones, a graduate of Shattuck in 1879, went to Yale and then returned to teach science at the University of Minnesota. There he helped to develop the fledgling football team. On October 26, 1886, he brought the Minnesota team to Shattuck for a game and acted as referee. The University won, 8-4. But Shattuck more than evened up the score in the return game, 22-8. [Five of Shattuck's points came from a drop-kick and one from the University's failure to make five yards in three downs.]

The Shattuck teams of 1888 and '89 claimed to be "Champions of the Northwest." They won from Carleton 48-16 and 42-0. Good sportsmanship was observed: "No quarrels, and bad language was rare." Shattuck split with the University in the fall of '88, winning 18-8 and losing 8-4. Shattuck complained about the condition of the field in the second game and demanded that it be replayed, but the University team refused. Shattuck, following the convention of those days, claimed victory because the challenge was declined. Again in 1889, Shattuck won at home against the University, 28-8, but lost 26-0 in the return game.

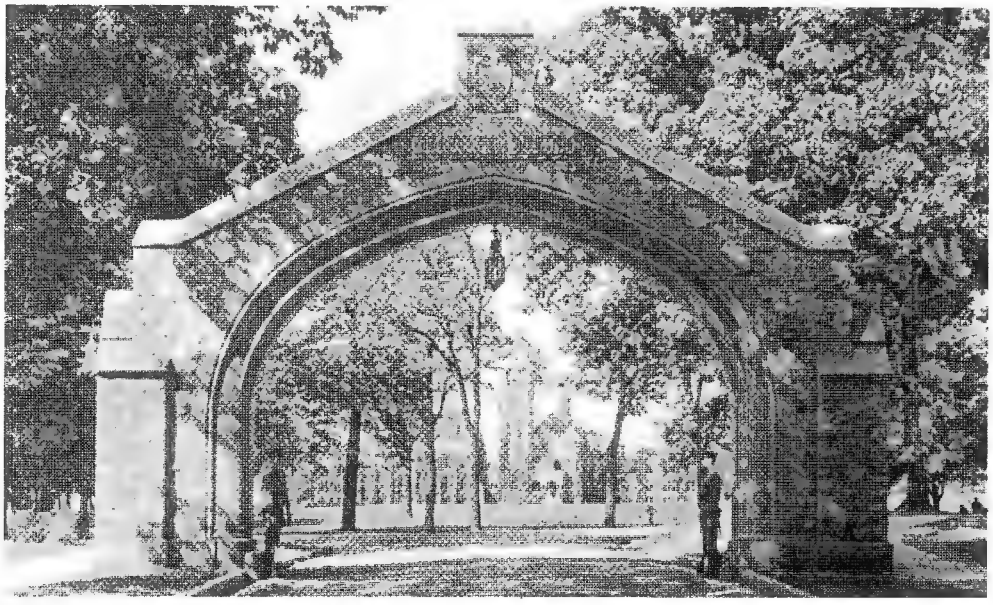
In the early years, instructors — quite legally — played on the school team along with the boys. [In 1888 two of the faculty members of the team had played college football.] No pads were worn and tasseled skull caps took the place of helmets. The rules allowed much that today would be considered "unnecessary roughness," and there were many more serious injuries.

—based on an article by Dr. Naba Fletcher in *Shattuck Alumni Magazine*, Fall, 1953.

The site of the chapel had been sacred ground long before a Christian church was built there. During his first year as bishop, Whipple had witnessed a scalp dance on that spot.

As in Breck's day, the religious influence continued to be strong, although now less austere. The school community attended daily prayers, but not at 6 o'clock in the morning. The new chapel did not result in a separation of the school from the Cathedral. On most Sundays, weather permitting, the boys marched past the brewery and down 8th street to morning service. They also had Evensong at 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon at Shattuck as long as Dobbin ran the school. The official Church connection was weakened somewhat in 1905 when Shattuck withdrew from the Bishop Seabury Mission; however, the effect of this change would hardly be noticeable for many years.

In 1926, while the chapel was being enlarged to accommodate a growing student body, a new entrance to the campus was designed and a memorial arch built to commemorate Professor Whitney. This considerably altered the focus. Now, visually,



but also really, the chapel was in a less prominent position. Shumway Hall, the academic building, was clearly at the center. Services continued as usual, though attendance at the Cathedral gradually became less regular.

After Dr. Dobbin's retirement in 1915, Charles Watson Newhall had become Headmaster. An Old Shad who had already served for 23 years as mathematics teacher, Newhall was a layman. During his tenure of over twenty years the school's academic reputation increased substantially, but its churchly character began to diminish. In May, 1934, the *Shattuck Spectator* ran an editorial which advocated that all services involving the boys be held in the school chapel.

The attitude in the cathedral is, we regret to say, not always religious. This attitude is as old and unchanged as the custom of having the service at the cathedral. Yet, on the other hand, a pious air has always pervaded the services in the chapel... The school is in no way attached to the cathedral parish. Would it not be wiser to eliminate the custom — for after all it is a mere custom — of the cadets attending services in the cathedral?

The Rt. Rev. Frank McElwain, the Bishop of Minnesota and former Dean of the Cathedral, disagreed. "But for Bishop Whipple and his far-seeing plans, and the help which generous members of the Church gave him, there would have been no Shattuck School. It is in affectionate memory of our debt to him that we go regularly to the Cathedral which he founded."[19] The views of the Coadjutor, the Rt. Rev. Stephen E. Keeler, were blunter. In a letter to Harry B. Smith, Junior Warden at the Cathedral, Keeler said, characteristically, that he was "not surprised." If the idea was not "faculty inspired" it at least had "the thorough-going sympathy of the administration ...":

Top: *Charles Watson Newhall.*
Left: *With Whitney Arch, built in 1926, the focus shifted. (Note lantern hanging from center.) The gate was not* always *guarded!*

[19] Letter to the editor of the *Spectator*, June 1, 1934.

An Old Shad Remembers the End of the Dobbin Era

T.S. Matthews spent two years at Shattuck — September, 1913-June, 1915. When he entered he was the youngest boy in school — but at the end of that year he had attained the highest scholastic rank. His father, then Dean of the Cathedral, was elected Bishop of New Jersey in 1914. At the end of his second year, Tom Matthews was transferred to St. Paul's School, Concord, N.H. — academically, a tougher school. After graduation from Princeton and two years at Oxford, he became a journalist and eventually succeeded Henry Luce as editor of *Time*. He was interviewed during a visit to Faribault in 1985.

"I think I was 13. My first impression [of Shattuck] was one of tremendous settledness. It was in summer ... I thought it was very ancient. I remember the smells — the smell of the gun room and the chapel (both those smells are gone now), and the pool too ... Everything seemed sort of polished with age ...

"I think I was rooming with Chuck Rumpf, and I learned to make a bed according to the West Point rules. I was very proud of that, but I never learned to like it. I started learning the manual of arms with those enormous Krag Jorgensens and the close-order drill. I was very keen on that ...

"[Dr. Dobbin] was a brooding presence ... He was a great tall fellow with a beard, looked like one of the ancient prophets ... There was something very remote and, not terrifying, but 'awful' about him — we regarded him with awe. I'm not sure I ever saw him. I'm not sure he was alive. He was a presence!"

"There were three headmasters in my two years. The last was Mr. Newhall. Everyone liked him and respected him. We were all a little bit in love with Mrs. Newhall, I think. She was a terribly good dancer and rather pretty ... She taught us the ballroom version of the Bunny Hug and the Turkey Trot and something I think was called the Grizzly Bear...

"I remember Mr. Whitney, the Latin teacher. He was an old landmark. I still remember things he taught us that I don't believe I've ever used ... The one master I remember with tremendous gratitude and great admiration is George Hastings. He was not much to look at, a pudgy, short fellow, but he was a natural born teacher. He taught English ... Nuba Pletcher ... was a very precise, very orderly teacher. He taught ancient history and I thought that was fun ...

"I was so little, and looking back on it I think there was a tremendous amount of life going on around me that I didn't understand or know about. Those great hairy heroes playing football against colleges — that just went over my head ...

"There was a fad among the big boys — men, I never thought of them as boys — for chewing tobacco. This was against the rules, and they had a surprise inspection. They lined them up in company formation and then had them open their jaws. Well, one big fellow in the first squad of A Company simply swallowed his quid before they got to him. He never turned a hair, he just swallowed it. He became the school hero because of that."

—from *Shattuck-St. Mary's Magazine*, Winter, 1985, pp. 14-15.

*1914 was Dobbin's last year at Shattuck; he died in 1917.

There has not been a strong claim made for the Episcopal Church in Shattuck for a number of years ... I am perfectly confident that the right kind of a chaplain at Shattuck, and the right point of view of the administration toward the whole question of the Episcopal Church, would secure the enthusiasm of the boys for it."[20]

Ironically, for a number of years the school had been paying the Cathedral "pew-rent." Apparently the Parish authorities had forgotten that the Cathedral was built *for the schools* and was to have been "forever free." Throughout the Depression,

[20]Letter dated May 29, 1934.

Shattuck would continue to use the Cathedral, but as its financial situation began to deteriorate, the school reduced its "contribution" considerably. The Church at Shattuck, and the school at the Cathedral, had certainly drifted apart since the days of Whipple.

SEABURY DIVINITY SCHOOL: IT MOVES AND MOVES AGAIN

When Seabury Divinity School moved a mile south after the fire, it returned to its place of origin. On this spot in 1858 Breck had built his Mission House. The new spacious and modern stone structures that would be built there now could hardly have presented a greater contrast. The seminarians no longer "studied by the light of tallow dips, were warmed by a sheet iron stove, [nor] bathed in public baths provided by Nature at the foot of the hill ..."[21]

The cornerstone of the new Seabury Hall was laid by Bishop Whipple on May 24, 1873, and the building was ready to be occupied by Thanksgiving Day, one year from the burning of the old Hall. Construction of the new Seabury Hall (and also Whipple Hall on the Shattuck campus) incurred a heavy debt, $30,000, — an act of faith by the bankers of Faribault and the Mission community during the "Panic" year of 1873. Fifteen years later, on May 15, 1888, the cornerstone of Johnston Hall — another major gift from Mrs. Shumway (now Huntington), a memorial to her father — would provide a chapel, library, classrooms, and a faculty apartment. Eventually two frame buildings were constructed for additional faculty housing.

Seabury, situated in a pristine and wooded campus with ivy-covered halls, would train over four hundred men to serve not only in Minnesota but throughout the Church. Though never large, its distinguished list of graduates would include the names of missionaries and scholars, archdeacons and bishops, clergy to serve in rough frontier settlements and even big-city cathedrals.

Despite the distinctively "catholic" persuasion of Dr. Breck, the Divinity School always represented a broad spectrum of theological opinion. Bishop Whipple was insistent upon a typically Anglican comprehensiveness, and even in the Panic of 1873, when the seminary could well have gone under, refused an offer of scholarship endowments from an "evangelical" society in the Church that required adherence to its narrow line. These were days when party conflict within the Church was rife, and also when skepticism and secularism challenged traditional beliefs and morality. In all of this, the Bishop was concerned that Seabury not only keep the Faith but also promote healing:

Men are wanted who know what they believe, and in their love for Christ will labor to bring back unity and peace to a divided Christendom. The fact that the faith of the Church rests on

Above: *Seal of the Bishop Seabury Mission, used also as the emblem of the Divinity School. The Latin motto* Crux ante Coronam, post Laborem Requies *suggests the rigor of missionary work: "The cross before the crown; after struggle, rest." Pictured here is the Seabury Divinity School campus* — left: *Johnston Hall;* right: *Seabury Hall.*

[21]Tanner described these early conditions in an address at the 60th Anniversary in 1918; in winter, baths must have been somewhat infrequent.

The Rev. J. Steinfort Kedney, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Ethics, and Apologetics.

impregnable ground led me to believe that within the limits which the Church allows there was no room for fear. Truth will conquer error ... This tolerant spirit does and will place one at a disadvantage. The charity which concedes to every brother the liberty which the Church gives will be misjudged ... For those who play fast and loose with eternal verities, who cast doubts on the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, I have only profound pity, and say with the apostle, "We have no such teaching, neither the Church of God."[22]

Perhaps in later years the "limits which the Church allows" widened a bit, but even in the last catalog it published in Faribault, the Divinity School claimed to uphold Bishop Whipple's basic position.

A Colored Divinity Student

Faribault, Minn. Aug 29/ 89

Mr dear Mr. Fulton,

Since the opening of St. Mary's we have sent an invitation to the Professors and students of our Divinity College to attend our concerts at the close of school terms. The guests have usually been asked to a reception in the parlor which lasts from ½ to an hour. We have now one colored student. He is one of the most modest, devoted scholarly men I have ever known & is honored as such by all who know him. He has come with other students to these entertainments – If [the Divinity students] are invited to be present & I refuse this colored man who is my fellow citizen in the nation & the Kingdom of God, I believe I should put a stigma & dishonor on a disciple of Christ who will give his life to his Master. I do not know that I shall ever have another colored student, but as he is here, as he is worthy of my respect, I cannot exempt him from these invitations. It would be a personal sorrow to lose your dear girls, & I do hope you will not take them from us. I believe you will fully appreciate my feelings as an old bishop who must soon give an account. I have carefully weighed the whole matter, & while I shall see that no familiarity ever takes place between the dear girls entrusted to me and any student of the Divinity School, I cannot do what I believe would be wrong to my Master.

With kind regard believe me ever faithfully yours
H.B. Whipple

[Letter in the Minnesota Historical Society]

During the middle period of Seabury's history, there was a close relation with the Cathedral. By the late '70s some of the earliest nearby missions had resident clergy, and the five small congregations dependent on Seabury were served by professors. On Sundays students occupied seats in the Cathedral choir. The professors, the Rector of Shattuck, and the Assistant Minister (today we would say "Dean") formed what the Bishop called an "informal chapter." Its members in turn celebrated the weekly Sunday Communion at the Cathedral.[23]

Among faculty members, two would be notable scholars. Dr. John Steinfort Kedney,[24] who became Professor of Divinity in 1871, would serve at Seabury for nearly forty years. At his death at the age of 92, he was counted as senior priest in the Episcopal Church. Among his writings, *Christian Doctrine Harmonized, Problems in Ethics, The Beautiful and the Sublime, Hegel's Aesthetics,* and *Mens Christi* were books which would challenge his students with great learning. His sermons at the Cathedral, however, were simple and direct. Dr. Frederick F. Kramer would become Warden of Seabury, reorganizing its academic life in 1912. He had accepted his appointment, intending to remodel the course of study in concurrence with that of other seminaries in the Church. He recalled his first meeting with the trustees this way:

– We got ourselves adjusted as to our relative duties. Mine was chiefly the building up of the school. We seemingly ran into trouble at once. Bishop Edsall called for nominations for a professor

[22] *Lights and Shadows*, p. 204.
[23] Henry Benjamin Whipple, "The Cathedral System" *Minnesota Missionary* (March, 1879), p. 4.
[24] His name was constantly misprinted *Kidney*.

and two of the trustees each nominated one. I stopped the meeting and said, "Am I supposed to build up this school?" He said, "Yes, do the best you can." "Well, if that's the case I must nominate all members of the faculty, so unless the other members of the trustees withdraw their nominations, I resign now." Of course, I did not resign because they fell in with my suggestion.[25]

He assumed the leadership of the school after a long, unsettled time in its history. As far back as 1886, there had been an effort to relocate Seabury in Minneapolis, and rumors were circulated in the public press as well as in Church publications. The *Faribault Democrat* reported on June 11th:

James Dobbin wrote, "It is not true that the 'formal consent of the Bishop' has been given, or even asked," and he added that the trustees had not considered such an idea "in any form." According to a letter by the Rev. F.D. Hoskins, Warden of the Divinity School, The Churchman *had already announced that [Seabury] would move!*

The construction of Johnston Hall would anchor the Divinity School in Faribault for a while, but the *Democrat* would editorialize on the continuing struggle 20 years later, even alluding to Shattuck's role:

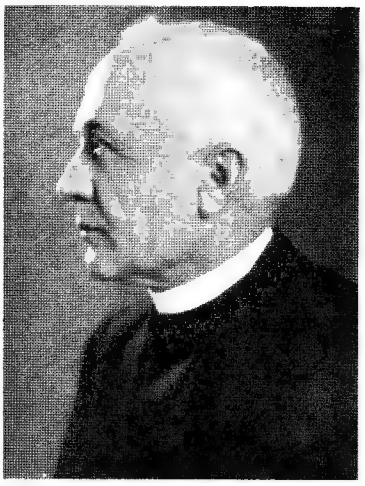
The hungry maw of Minneapolis is again agape for Seabury Divinity School. Unable or unwilling to build and equip a single school or college of its own, it would be glad, of course, to swallow one that has already been built ... But Minneapolis will have to wait. The lands and money given to Seabury Divinity School named Faribault as the site, and not an inch of the land is available for other purposes. Through the foresight of Bishop Whipple every bequest for scholarship or professorship named Faribault as the site of the institution ... The proposition to use the Seabury buildings for the enlargement of Shattuck School would be no more possible than to use them for grain store houses ... Shattuck is no longer a part of the Bishop Seabury Mission, but a separate institution.[26]

Perhaps the issue of the location of Seabury Divinity School lay behind the failure of the clergy of the diocese to raise $30,000 for a Bishop Gilbert Memorial Fund to sustain the school. The seminary had been a significant part of Bishop Gilbert's long ministry. He had graduated from it, valued its role in Minnesota, and appealed to the Diocese for funds to support it. His appeals went unheeded. In 1901, a year after Gilbert's death, the fund had received only $4,000. Charles A. Poole, a Seabury faculty member, quoted an earlier statement of Gilbert's:

If Seabury Divinity School is obliged though lack of means to close its door to young men seeking the necessary education for the work of the ministry, I shall resign my Episcopate.[27]

Poole went on to imply that "the secret of [Gilbert's] death" included the depression he felt about Seabury's financial needs.

The Seabury Mission had also been assailed by the Rice County Commissioners. For several years, taxation of the Mission's holdings had been threatened, and in 1901 an



Top: *The Rev. Frederick F. Kramer, Ph.D., Warden, 1912-1933.* Bottom left: *The Divinity School library in Johnston Hall.*

[25] *Faribault Daily News*, Mar. 23, 1942, p. 10; Dr. Kramer's autobiography runs in daily installments, Mar. 18-25.
[26] *Democrat*, March 2, 1906. 'Shattuck had withdrawn in 1905, the previous year.'
[27] *Minnesota Church Record*, March, 1901, p. 72; Poole does not give the date of Gilbert's statement.

Johnston Hall seen through greenery, circa 1920.

assessment of $55,000 was made. The Mission contested the right of the county to tax it, and first Judge Buckham of Faribault, then the Minnesota Supreme Court ruled in the Mission's favor. The case set a precedent for educational institutions in Minnesota. The Mission argued that both the Divinity School and Shattuck would be forced to close if the commissioners were upheld. At this time the Divinity School still charged no tuition. An interesting sidelight in the case revealed that for decades the Mission had been lending money at low interest — much lower than the banks charged — to farmers and small businesses. By so doing, it saved many from bankruptcy. Though the Mission eventually made a small profit on such loans, it had never been, in fact, a profit-making institution.[28]

But three decades later, even the popular Dr. Kramer could not withstand the economic pressures of the Great Depression. The year following his retirement, 1933, Seabury Divinity School was merged with Western Theological Seminary of Chicago, and both moved to a new campus in Evanston on land donated by Garrett Biblical Institute (Methodist) at Northwestern University. They took the name of Seabury-Western Theological Seminary.

The last Seabury catalog (1932-33), handsomely printed, scarcely suggests the school's imminent demise. The announcement of the closure is pasted inside the cover.[29] The catalog listed a total faculty of seven, including Bishop McElwain. In residence were four juniors, four middlers, eight seniors, one graduate student, and three "special students;" in addition, there were pre-theological students commuting to Carleton College, Northfield, on the Seabury-Carleton Plan. The endowment of the seminary in 1929, just prior to the Crash, was $450,000 nearly all secured by Bishop Whipple. After the Crash, Seabury could not long continue. The buildings were abandoned in 1933 and simply deteriorated until 1944, when the campus was bought by St. Lucas Evangelical Deaconess Hospital. Johnston Hall , used for its nurses' training program, narrowly escaped demolition in 1987. The other buildings served briefly as post-war tenements before they were condemned and torn down.[30]

The new Evanston campus, while less idyllic, offered Seabury many advantages for a modern seminary. The English Gothic buildings had been completed in 1930, and Western had moved to its new home without debt. Each institution, however, needed the other. The Bishops of Minnesota and Chicago — quite different from one another in churchmanship — were to alternate in their leadership of the merged institution. Seabury brought to its new home two distinguished teachers, some of its library, and the remnant of its endowment and missionary heritage. Bishop McElwain went to Evanston to become the seminary's new Dean, leaving the Diocese in the hands of the more pragmatic Bishop Keeler.

What had Seabury been like in its last days?

The Divinity School and the Cathedral had been established to meet the missionary needs of a frontier diocese. Both institutions were essential parts of an Associate Mission in its ideal form — an ideal first realized at Faribault. With the passing years, however, life in the State and in the Diocese grew less primitive. Even tiny congregations built permanent structures. The Cathedral in Faribault, more and more cut off from the center of diocesan administration, had taken on more and more the functions of a local parish church. Seabury had also changed with the times — though after three-quarters of a century it kept alive more of the early missionary spirit than did the other Church institutions in Faribault.

The diary of Charles Plummer portrayed something of Old Seabury; reminiscences of the Rev. George Gilbert, one of the two living members of the last class graduated in Faribault, give a vivid picture of Seabury in the early '30s. They may not represent the whole story but provide a generous slice of Seabury life.[31]

George Gilbert got off the train in Faribault in September, 1929, with 25 cents in his pocket, which he immediately spent for cab fare to the Seabury campus. His entire tuition, room and board — $300 each year — was being paid by the Church's Evangelical Education Society. It was "just natural" that he study for the ministry: his father had

[28]For the decision see *Republican*, Aug. 27, 1902, p. 3.
[29]The final decision may have been last-minute, but negotiations had gone on for 18 months. Earlier there had been attempts by Bishop McElwain to move the Divinity School to the Carleton College campus in Northfield, but conversations with Carleton had broken down in 1931. Though Congregationalist in origin, Carleton at this time was sanctioned by the Diocese for Episcopal students.
[30]District One Hospital was constructed there in 1959.
[31]Mr. Gilbert was interviewed at his home in Lake City on January 10, 1987.

served with distinction as a country parson in Connecticut for forty years. Like all Seabury students, Gilbert was given a mission assignment.[32] In his first year he got Mazeppa. Twice a month he rode the Dan Patch ("You could almost walk as fast!") thirty miles east to the village. There was no Sunday train, so he had to go on Saturday. This gave him time for "calling" — perhaps helping a farmer milk a cow while encouraging him to come to church. In those days the village had its own electrical plant, and the power always went off at 10 p.m. If you arrived at the hotel after that you were given a candle and told to find an empty bed. The next morning there would be a dozen or more people at the service. He was paid $7 each time — $14 a month — "which was all the money I had." Afterward he would walk to Highway 52 and catch a bus back to Faribault. After expenses, he was left with two or three dollars.

In his middler and senior years he served Waterville. James Lloyd Breck had regularly walked there in the earliest days, but Gilbert drove a car — a Dodge with 50,000 miles on it that he had bought for $50. Waterville had services every week and paid $12.50. ("That was $50 a month — I felt like a millionaire.") Occasionally a professor would accompany him and celebrate Communion.[33] A car and additional income gave Gilbert a bit more freedom. Like other Seabury students he dated the young teachers at St. Mary's Hall, though he ended up marrying a physical education instructor from the State School as soon as he graduated.

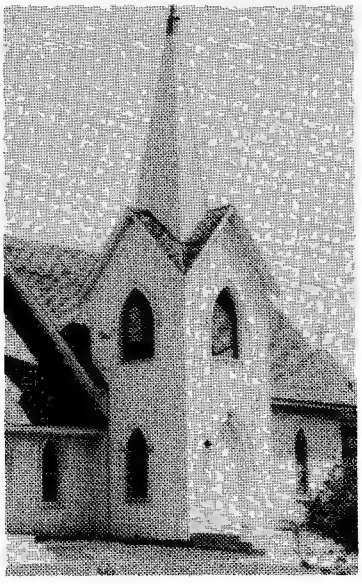
Clearly Seabury Divinity School provided a great deal of practical experience. The students learned to preach by preaching. One of the professors always used to say that three ingredients make up a good sermon: subject-matter and delivery (the first two), he said, are important, but credibility is crucial — the people have to know that the preacher believes what he says. On-the-job training was valuable, according to Gilbert, but there was little direct supervision.

The academic curriculum in the last years was also limited, though some of the teachers were fine scholars. Besides the major courses in Scripture, Theology, and Church History, and the minor courses in Liturgics, Ethics, and Homiletics, the only other regular offerings were Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac. Courses relating to mission and ministry were taught by visiting instructors. Gilbert found the curriculum "demanding, in a way." He remembers, for example, a test on the Apocrypha. In those days the questions were written on the blackboard, but you could leave the classroom and take the test in the library or your own room. He felt unable to answer a single question, even though he had studied — but, undaunted, he wrote a brief essay analyzing each of the books and got an A+!

By the early '30s there were three old professors, all due for retirement: Charles Rollit, "who must have drunk twenty cups of coffee a day;" Francis Leseure Palmer, who knew the Prayer Book so well, that, even one night when the lights went out, he didn't miss a syllable; and Warden Kramer, who, among many community activities, conducted regular services at the State School and liked to refer to himself as "the best feeble-minded preacher in the state." The problem at Seabury in its last years was complex, but a big part of it was finding new professors of high quality. There just was not enough money.

With the departure of Seabury, numerous changes came about, particularly in the small congregations that seminarians had served. Some were consolidated, others soon closed. Those that survived lost much of their old independence. From time immemorial they had been run by senior wardens who, in many cases, were a law unto themselves — "lay popes," Bishop Keeler called them; now these missions would be supervised by ordained ministers. For years the smallest congregations had struggled to stay alive, but without resident clergy there had been little growth. Today, over fifty years later, many are long-since gone.

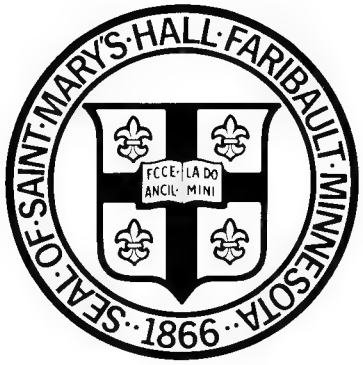
But the move seems to have had little effect at the Cathedral — except, of course, regret. Most of the students had been involved in mission work every Sunday, and those who were occasionally on campus would gather for services at the "oratory" in Johnston Hall. George Gilbert remembers very little about the Cathedral from his Seabury days, except for special occasions like graduation. No longer did seminarians assist with the



Top: *St. Andrew's, Waterville.*
Below: *Seabury Hall cornerstone, now on the Cathedral grounds.*

[32]Amazingly, Seabury served even as far west as Windom and Worthington in the '20s and early '30s. (Verification from Mrs. Richard Hudson, historian of the Windom church.)

[33]After ordination, Gilbert would continue at Waterville and serve LeSueur as well. He was promised a starting salary of $2,000. It was customary for the treasurer to pay the minister after the service each Sunday. But on the first Sunday in January, 1933, the treasurer at LeSueur had no money — neither did the treasurer at Waterville. In fact, as Bishop Keeler told Gilbert, it was the same all over rural Minnesota. The Depression had arrived.



The emblem of St. Mary's Hall, designed by Dean Slattery. The motto, Ecce, Ancilla Domini *("Behold, the handmaid of the Lord") quotes the words of the Virgin Mary when she learned that she would be the mother of Jesus.*

Sunday School, sing with the choir, or work with the Scout troop. There seems to have been no actual change in policy; perhaps the reason was simply declining numbers. Until the end, the Cathedral was Seabury's official church, however, and the Chapter was required to sign the papers of all candidates for ordination — though this seems to have become largely *pro forma*. But, as usual, the beloved faces of Warden Kramer and Dr. Palmer would continue for years to be seen in the Cathedral chancel, long after the move to Evanston.

ST. MARY'S HALL: THE BISHOP'S DAUGHTERS

The early development of St. Mary's must be understood in the context of Bishop Whipple's view of Christian womanhood. It was a highly traditional and somewhat romantic idea. To set the tone for the school, he chose some stirring words from the Rt. Rev. William Croswell Doane, Bishop of Albany and son of the founder of the original St. Mary's Hall, in Burlington, N.J. (The Whipple girls had attended that school, and the new St. Mary's would seek to emulate it.) In a commencement address for his own girls' school the younger Doane had said:

Life calls you as women to have, to prove, and to live by principles of purity, of truth, of modesty, of honor so fixed and plain that they will either repel or reveal or convert impurity and falsehood and dishonor.[34]

That, in moral terms, seems to be what Whipple meant by "all that daughters, wives, and mothers ought to be."

To the age-old question "Can virtue be taught?" he would have answered a resounding *yes*. In his view of women, at least, he was no modernist. One of St. Mary's early graduates saw some problems:

You cannot have read Bishop Whipple's prefaces to the school catalogs without seeing what an idealist he was ... He had no sympathy — at least not at the time I knew him — for the women's movement for intellectual or civic freedom and equality. He always saw in every girl a potential wife and mother ... Then these girls, all to become mothers and wives, were ... put under the direct influence, at the most impressionable years of life, of women who were not *mothers ... I am not criticising, I am only pointing out the inconsistencies ...*[35]

To be fair to the Bishop, it must be emphasized that he did believe women in the intellectual sphere to be absolutely equal with men — and in the spiritual sphere probably much superior! In his address at the St. Mary's Commencement in 1895 he admitted that women were perfectly able to perform work traditionally reserved to men: "I doubt not that there are women capable to be engine drivers, brakemen, porters, craftsmen. I doubt not that they could become political hucksters ..." But then he added, "*We* are not training women for *such* work. God forbid that any women whom I love shall barter the hallowed associations of home for such a sphere as this."[36] A woman's place was in the home — or else in teaching or missionary work; her role, he believed, was a God-given privilege and responsibility. To the Daughter who pointed out "inconsistencies," the Bishop might well have pointed to the influential place in the Hall of his wife Cornelia. Mrs. Whipple, a woman of culture and education, almost single-handedly managed the domestic and business affairs of St. Mary's in its first years — yet found time to invite girls to tea every Thursday. "Mrs. Whipple was a mother to us," wrote one of the early girls, "and she entertained us with music, readings, and art exhibits."[37]

Miss Darlington, the Principal, who demanded much of teachers and students but no less of herself, was a mother of a different sort:

Most of us can remember the awe and almost fear that we felt of our apparently stern principal when first we entered upon that new little world. We thought her severe, cold, unsympathetic — such surface judges were we! ... We also remember how by degrees we became aware of the fair justice done us ... and how we knew we had a friend *... Her strength lay in her interest in and love for girls as girls. She saw in each of us the woman each was to become.*[38]

Miss Darlington even occasionally evinced a sense of humor: for instance, she would never allow *Lead, Kindly Light* to be used in chapel too early in the year, for a homesick

[34]Carolyn Wright Eells, "The Motto of Saint Mary's," *Saint Mary's Sundial*, 1933, p. 9.
[35]Byrde, pp. 45-46.
[36]*Democrat*, June 14, 1895, p. 3.
[37]Alice Johnson Blair, *Mollies' News*, 1932, p. 12, what these "exhibits" were is unclear.
[38]"A Memorial to Miss Darlington, Our First Principal," *St. Mary's Alumnae Banquets*, 1886-1890, p. 5.

girl might start sobbing at "The night is dark, and I am far from home" — and then several more might join in! She served for the first fifteen years of the school — almost the entire time that St. Mary's was in the Bishop's house. During this time the school started to gain a national reputation for scholarship. One early graduate is said to have astonished her professors at Wellesley by her ability to read Latin at sight.

Mirth in Church, Circa 1870

"One Sunday all the girls in the front two pews — and they were the older girls too — were on the verge of a mighty catastrophe due to what appeared to be a great offense against reverence. It happened in this way. Dear Dr. Richey — I am sure none of his descendants will mind my telling the story — was a most eloquent preacher. The surplices of that day were long and voluminous, but some of our clergy had already taken to the cassock and cotta, amongst them Dr. Richey, who was a high churchman. But on this very broiling Sunday, having preached with his usual vehement intensity and retired to the vestry to get cool, if possible [before continuing with the service], it occurred to him that cassocks, in these circumstances, were articles of clothing worthy of being dispensed with. He accordingly divested himself and put on one of the low church surplices — with the following consequences.

"We in the front two rows were paralyzed for a moment, then reduced to helpless and unbecoming mirth by the spectacle of the good man ... walking slowly and solemnly, with hands devoutly folded ... and head bent, towards [the altar], all unconscious that the surplice had been caught in its descent, and that not only his nether garments but even a portion of his shirt and braces were exhibited to the public gaze.

"Miss Darlington was for once very angry and not inclined to listen, but I described the scene quite gravely ... I saw the corner of her mouth — not twitch, nothing so plain as that ... 'But nothing in church should ever seem funny enough to laugh at,' she rather weakly protested ... and I eagerly exclaimed, 'Oh, but it *is* just because one is in church that such a thing seems so funny!' She agreed, of course, but she would not own it. 'Discipline must be maintained.' We heard no more of the matter, however."

— Margaretta Brown Byrde, *Saint Mary's Fifty Years Ago*, pp. 53-54

Sarah P. Darlington, first Principal of St. Mary's Hall.

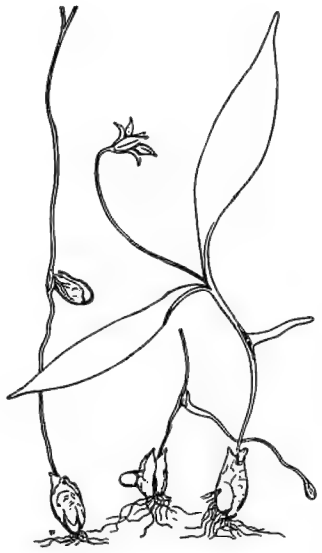
Religion permeated the ethos of the school, but Bishop Whipple was concerned that it be joyous, never gloomy or oppressive. There was a short morning chapel each day and also a fifteen-minute "Bible Hour" at night — and, of course, all went to the Parish Church (or soon the Cathedral) on Sunday mornings and holy days. St. Mary's had its own chaplain, but whenever possible the Bishop took the Sunday chapel himself, speaking very personally and informally with the girls. Though most of them came from Episcopalian homes, he insisted that those from other religious backgrounds (or none) be treated with equal respect. In later years he would recall this conversation:

A Baptist friend brought his daughters to St. Mary's; I said, "Your daughters will use our Church service for a year, and they will love it: if they become Churchwomen, do not think that a word has been said against their father's faith." The answer was, "I think Baptists can stand your Prayer Book for a year, but I brought my daughters here that they might be trained into noble Christian women!"[39]

But girls, of course, will be girls. There were plenty of pranks, many of them involving Shattuck boys in one way or another. One that became a legend involved not a Shad exactly, but a good approximation:

On a bleak, wintry Sunday morning in the late '70s, faithful old O'Brien was horrified as he crossed the little court between the old gymnasium and the kitchen at an early hour, to discover a Shattuck boy, apparently, standing erect upon the cupula! The boy wore the resplendent dress uniform of those days with its imposing three rows of brass buttons, and was in perfect form, even

[39] *Republican*, Sept. 19, 1883, p. 1; reprinted from *The Churchman*.



Minnesota Dwarf Trout Lily, a copy of the original drawing, courtesy of Orwin Rustad.

A New Species

In 1871 an article appeared in the *American Naturalist* announcing, as the title said, "A New Species of Erythronium." The more common name is Minnesota Dwarf Trout Lily. It is unique to the Faribault area. Prof. Asa Gray wrote:

"Ordinarily it is hardly worth while to make a separate article for a single new species of plant ... But the species of *Erythronium* are so few, and the present one is so peculiar ... that I need not apologize for bringing it at once to notice.

"The specimens before me, accompanied by a colored drawing, are just received from Miss S.P. Darlington ... and were collected at Faribault, Minnesota, by Mrs. Mary B. Hedges, the teacher of Botany in St. Mary's Hall ...

"The flower is much smaller than that of any other known species, being barely half an inch long; and its color, a bright pink or rose, like that of the European *E. Dens-Canis*, reflects the meaning of the generic name (viz., red), which is lost to us in our two familiar Adder-tongues, one with yellow, the other with white, blossoms. The most singular peculiarity of the new species is found in the way in which the bulb propagates ... In our *E. Americanum* long and slender off-shoots, or subterranean runners, proceed from the base of the parent bulb and develop the new bulb at their distant apex ..."

Exactly where Mrs. Hedges' class discovered the lily is uncertain. It grows in a ravine near the present St. Mary's Hall — but at that time, of course, the school was still in the Bishop's house downtown. In any case, it must have been a proud moment for St. Mary's and the Bishop when news of the discovery appeared in a national scholarly journal. (Mr. Orwin Rustad provided a copy of the article.)

to his white gloves. The ruling passion of O'Brien, loyal servitor of St. Mary's from its inception, was to sustain the dignity of the school at all times and at all costs. Moreover, O'Brien was the sworn enemy of that genus, the Shattuck boy. His immediate fixed determination was, therefore, to remove that offending image before it be seen by any other human being. Efficient and rapid as his endeavors were, however, he was unable to bring the figure (a Shattuck uniform neatly stuffed) to the ground before two girls, risen much too early, had seen from their window both the effigy and O'Brien's frantic effort to remove it.[40]

The perpetrators were never caught, and though it happened in the dead of Lent, everyone had a good laugh.

It goes without saying that any real encounter, however innocent, could have meant expulsion — even signaling or sending secret notes was punishable. Brothers and boy-cousins could call in the parlor on Wednesday afternoons. Every once in a while a relative turned into a beau — only to turn back into a relative instantly when one of the teachers walked in! Even one senior engaged to a divinity student was not able to see him — not even when she returned the next year as an apprentice teacher; but as soon as he was graduated and made a deacon, they were married.

By the time Miss Darlington died, in 1881, the school had outgrown the Bishop's old house, and plans were being made for a new St. Mary's Hall, this time to be located on the bluff above the Straight. The rambling structure of stone, crowned with turrets and several spires, would be 243 feet across the front, with wings at the north and south ends each a hundred feet long. It would cost $80,000, and according to Bishop Whipple, three-fourths of the money was contributed by women.[41] Unlike any other building in Faribault, it was soon being called "the Castle on the Rhine." It boasted all the latest in conveniences — and actual rooms for the girls, not just cubicles. When the new Hall was opened at the beginning of the 1883-84 school year, the 78 boarders filled it to capacity, and work began to provide more space in the attic.

[40]*Mollies' News*, 1930, p. 47.
[41]Address at the laying of the cornerstone of the new St. Mary's, June 19, 1882; reported in *Republican*, June 21, p. 3.

Life at St. Mary's: A Young Teacher's Perspective

Mary Adelaide Smith, who was born in Faribault in 1860, graduated from St. Mary's in 1878. In 1880 "Mamie" returned to St. Mary's to teach elocution. At this time she was engaged to a young man in Portage, Wis. The following quotations come from letters that she wrote to her "intended" in 1881:

"I have days of being perfectly disgusted with myself, for the girls do act so sometimes, whispering, you know, in class, and it provokes me to think that I don't know enough to manage them. It is only a few of the little girls, and girls I like, too ... Thursday afternoon and evening [until 8] there were about twenty of the girls here [her parents' house] ... the seniors and middle classes. We tried to make them all have a good time, and I guess we did ... As a general thing it takes boys to make a good time for a crowd of girls like that, but boys were not allowed. Miss D. [Darlington] would have shipped me if I had done such an outrageous thing as invite boys with the *Bishop's* lambs. Necessity is the mother of invention, and we did have a good time without them." —Feb. 8

* * * * *

"Wednesday noon. School is out and the girls are just wild with delight. I disgraced myself this morning but the girls didn't seem to think so. Went up to my recitation room [there is a piano in it and the floors are waxed] for my last class, the older girls, and they were dancing the 'racquet.' They stopped when I came in, for of course they could have been reported for it, for the bell had rung; but I laughed and wanted to know where my partner was, and they all shrieked, 'Oh, will you, Miss Smith! Can we dance a few minutes? What fun!' So we all danced until we were out of breath, then went on with our lessons as if nothing had happened." — Apr. 7

* * * * *

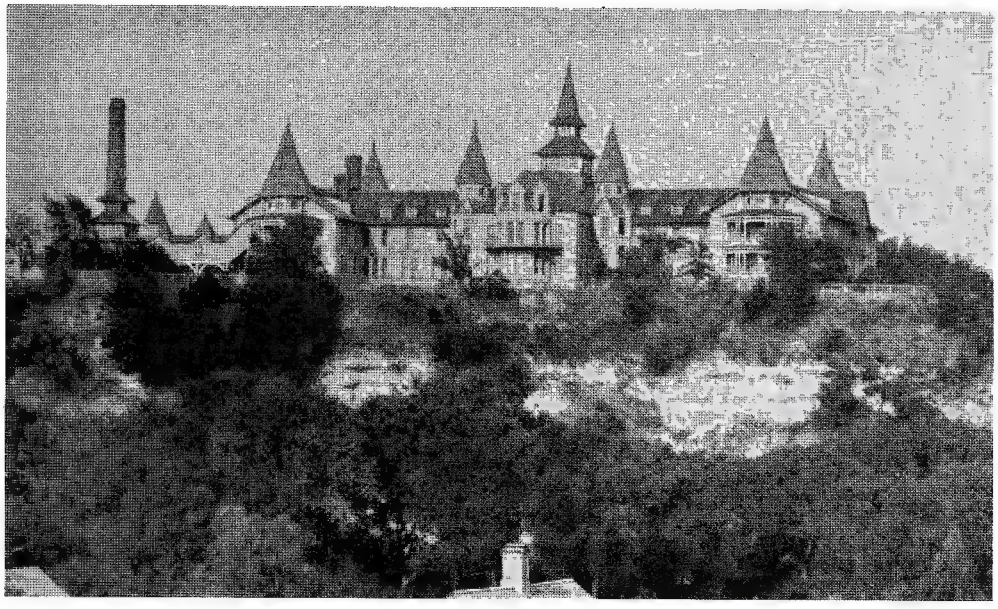
"I want to teach another year at St. Mary's. Mrs. Whipple sent for me today and said the Bishop wished to have me teach again if I would, and he wanted the answer soon. I told her I would think about it. Well! I have thought about it, and I think I should be a little goose if I refused to take the place that I expected to be *kicked* out of. And you know, Ted, it is such a nice easy way of keeping up with music and painting, and then, besides, how lazy I'd be if I did not have anything to do." —May 16

* * * * *

"Yes, I must [continue at] St. Mary's, Ted, there is no way of backing out, even if I wanted to — which I really do not. I honestly think it would be the very best thing in the world for me ... I do not dread the work I shall have to do there ... It is the responsibility, I guess. It seems more of an undertaking than it did last year ... I only hope I can be old enough to do what I ought to do. I shall walk through the year with my *eyes closed* ..." —Aug. 21

* * * * *

"Hattie Fox is here, though I didn't expect her, for the girls have been on bounds for a week, for something one girl did and wouldn't own up to. That girl must have a hard conscience, to keep all the girls from their privileges — couldn't even go down-town, you know ... All the Shattuck boys were down to the entertainment last evening and were thinking to have a fine time with the girls, but the girls had to stay at home on account of this affair." — Nov. 3



Top left: *Caroline Wright Eells.*
Top right: *The new St. Mary's, 1883 — "a castle on the Rhine."*
Bottom: *The great St. Mary's fire, 1924.*

The boys, of course, were quite interested in the new Hall, now that the Mollies were almost next door. Several years later, the *Deaf-Mute Companion* reported with some glee that several Shads who had climbed up on a porch roof at the School for the Deaf and were trying to rouse the girls' attention, got drenched with pails of water.[42]

It may seem strange that there was no chapel, though the school had gotten by since 1866 without one. Daily services would continue in the school-room until 1896, when Caroline Wright Eells was invited to become Headmistress. She refused to come unless there were a proper chapel — and so a parlor was converted to satisfy her. She was a strong woman, and it is not surprising that Bishop Edsall sometimes referred to her as "the Little Bishop of St. Mary's." But she was also greatly loved by her students. During her twenty years the curriculum was reformed, and 7th and 8th grade classes were added. In 1917 — the year after she left — a junior college program was introduced. Both programs were phased out in the early '40s.

[42]Reprinted in *Republican*, Apr. 16, 1892, p. 3.

The Hall was struck by lightning on August 5, 1924 and totally destroyed by fire. Only by dynamiting and then drenching the north end of the Hall was the new gymnasium saved. B.W. Cowperthwait, a trustee of the school, mobilized on-lookers the day of the fire, and as a result many books and chapel furnishings, as well as Bishop Whipple's Indian collection, were rescued. Someone saved the gold Venetian chalice given to the Bishop by Robert Minturn, though for months it was believed to have been lost. Alice Davis, the school secretary and a great keeper of scrapbooks, spent two days rummaging through the debris, looking for records and documents — until the police forced her to stop for her own safety.

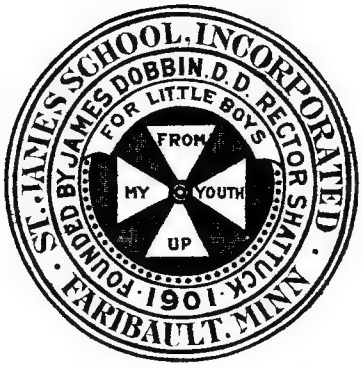
The school year started only a few days late, and the girls lived at Seabury Hall on the Divinity School campus. Alumnae raised $125,000 of the $200,000 needed after the insurance settlement to build a new St. Mary's; the rest was financed with bonds. The new building included a chapel in honor of Bishop Whipple and his wife Cornelia. The windows depict virtues which at the time were considered to be particularly appropriate to women. For example, one shows Joan of Arc as a symbol of Fortitude — and in one corner there is a small caricature of its opposite, Cowardice, in the form of a *man* running away and dropping his sword, terrorized by a rabbit! (Several of the windows contain similar ironic touches.)

The 1930s brought dramatic changes to the Hall. The Depression reduced enrollment to about fifty, and austerity measures had to be imposed to cut costs. Only five girls graduated in the Class of 1933. Faculty salaries, already modest, were trimmed. In 1934 the Board passed a resolution expressing "deep appreciation of the splendid spirit of loyalty and cooperation" on the part of faculty and staff but offered no immediate hope of improved conditions. The Headmistress, Miss Katherine Caley, had to encourage her best teachers to look elsewhere for better opportunities. The last will and testament of Evangeline Whipple came to the rescue, though only $20,000, for a scholarship endowment, was available at once; the other $80,000 would not come to the school until after the death of one of Mrs. Whipple's immediate beneficiaries.

Other changes in the school reflected the social revolution going on in America. For example, it became necessary for St. Mary's to add smoking to its list of taboos. But by now Seniors could walk to the Cathedral without chaperones. In 1932 girls, for the first time, were allowed to ask boys to a Junior-Senior Prom. Dances involving both girls from St. Mary's and boys from Shattuck gradually became common, and "calling" was frequent, though always heavily supervised.

During this entire period, from its foundation and through the Depression, St. Mary's kept up a close relationship with the Cathedral. One reason was the fact that St. Mary's always had the Bishop as its Rector. Another was that the Chaplain was often either the Dean of the Cathedral or his curate. A third reason was that, though St. Mary's now had a chapel of its own, the chaplain would be involved on Sundays at the Cathedral — in other words, St. Mary's was in a dependent position. Finally, there was alive at the school a strong memory of the Bishop and his wife Cornelia — the tradition was still very much alive, reinforced by many little but important traditions.

Top: *Katherine Caley, Headmistress during the Depression.*
Bottom: *St. Mary's graduation, 1900. For reasons of health, Bishop Whipple could not attend; Bishop Gilbert is pictured top center. Below him, holding a bouquet, is the Rev. E. Steele Peake, pioneer missionary who had served for many years as chaplain of the Hall.*



Top: *Seal of St. James School.*
Below: *Elizabeth Ames Dobbin.*
Bottom: *St. James cadets parading outside Old Main, the former Dobbin home.*

ST. JAMES: LATE BLOOMER

The story of St. James focuses mainly on two of its Headmasters. The first half of the story belongs to F.E. Jenkins: even though he did not found the school, he served it as Headmaster for 41 years — from its beginning in 1901 until 1942. Most of the second half belongs to Marvin W. Horstman, who was Headmaster for 21 years.

Dr. Dobbin was the founder, though the inspiration very possibly came from his second wife, Elizabeth. For years Shattuck had been receiving applications from parents of boys too young for its rigorous life. Before 1900, some physical harassment had been tolerated, partly in connection with the military program. Considerable controversy about it must have developed, however, for Dobbin wrote a public letter to the *Democrat*:

Will you kindly give me space to reassure the public in regard to the attitude of the authorities of Shattuck School towards the custom, all too common in schools and colleges, of maltreating new boys and lower classmen? Much has been said and printed that is grossly exaggerated or wholly untrue of its prevalence in Shattuck. It has never taken on the brutal form here that prevails in some places, but it is true that the custom of "fagging" and a mild form of hazing has gained a foothold of late ... The friends of the school need have no fear that the faculty will shrink from any responsibility necessary in putting a stop to this.[43]

In those days there was an iron deer next to the Shattuck Chapel — part of a menagerie of ornamental pieces. During initiation periods, younger boys would be put across it and paddled. Mrs. Dobbin became so bothered with the practice that she contrived to have the deer smuggled over to "Manney Hill," the Dobbin home, in a load of hay. There it would become a proud symbol of a new school.

Manney Hill was the stone cottage built in the 1860s by Solon Manney near the old Parish Cemetery. The site was — and is — a beautiful one, high above the confluence of the Cannon and the Straight rivers about a mile north of the Shattuck campus. The Dobbins had purchased the house and acreage in 1884. In 1901 an addition was built for $6,000. That fall "Lower Shattuck" opened.

The first year a dozen boys lived there. Mr and Mrs. Jenkins ran the operation together. At first the boys seem to have taken at least some classes at Shattuck, and it is certain that they attended chapel there for several years. The new school grew fast, however, and soon became self-contained. The second year there were twenty boys. Dobbin said, "No more," but more came. By 1909 there were 31 boys living in space designed for twenty. Over the summer the capacity was doubled, and the enrollment in

[43]Oct. 4, 1901; hazing, etc., in some forms long outlasted the Dobbin era.

the fall numbered 44. At this point the school was separately incorporated as St. James. As the Dobbins' sons later wrote, "There was never any doubt ... that when Mother selected the school name she had Father in mind. To her he was the greatest man in the world."[44]

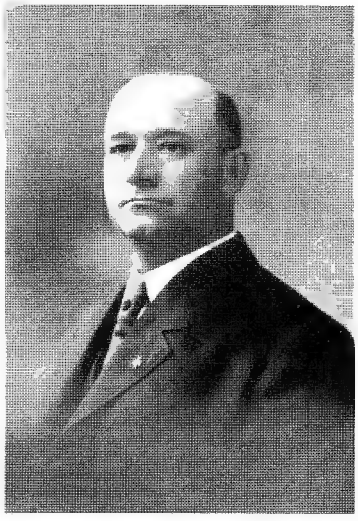
Carl H. Schuster, who finished eighth grade in 1903, wrote this description of life in the earliest days:

The study was so intense at St. James that the two Minnesota boys skipped two years ahead of what their comparable grade would have been in public school. The discipline, though tempered with charity, was such that seldom did any boy escape a spanking at the hands of the Headmaster ... There were many wooded acres to roam in around the school. Good cows gave excellent milk. The food was very nourishing, well-cooked, nicely served and in abundance. The spiritual atmosphere was very high. There were morning and evening prayers, and the Episcopal Cathedral on Sundays. Mrs. Jenkins acted as a mother to the boys and seemed to love them all. She was a fine lady, and Mr. Jenkins was the finest type of gentleman, teacher, and Christian. Military drill of a limited and specialized nature was part of the cadet's life.[45]

From the beginning, St. James was a "home school." Though there were usually several boys each year from Faribault, most were boarding students from the Upper Midwest — and some came from other parts of the United States and foreign countries. Though there was firm discipline, there was also nurture. Some boys were orphans or came from broken homes; others had parents whose business interests required foreign travel. Some were from remote areas where schools were "few and far between," and limited, in any case. Some were quite young. The great emphasis was upon stability. The school also had some of the aspects of a Boy Scout program — hikes, camp-outs, nature study, crafts, games, animals to love and care for. The schedule, not surprisingly, was very full, but there was also well-supervised free time.

St. James was purchased from the Dobbin family in 1919 by C.S. Batchelder, B.B. Sheffield, and Mr. Jenkins. The change in ownership seems not to have changed the school's program at all.

The "Jamies" sat at the back of the Cathedral — in the pews which the Indians had occupied until almost the turn of the century. It must have been difficult for the young boys to see and hear all that went on, and they were restless sometimes. The connection with the Cathedral may have seemed unimportant to some of them. Yet it would prove to be very important in the early '40s. The school was closed when Mr. Jenkins retired in 1942. (He had taught boys for 55 years altogether!) But two years later, St. James would be re-opened, largely through the effort of a dean of the Cathedral.



Top: *F.E. Jenkins as a young man; he would be Headmaster of St. James for 41 years.* Middle: *A Jamie who became an actor: Ken Senn.* Bottom: *A school picnic.*

[44]*The First Fifty Years* (historical booklet, 1951), p. 5.
[45]*Ibid.*, p. 6.

"THE CENTER CANNOT HOLD"[46]

The drifting apart of the Church institutions in Faribault came relatively late — only after the death of Bishop Whipple. The drifting apart of the Cathedral establishment and the rest of the Diocese, however, had begun much earlier. Faribault, in a sense, was a late-comer in the pioneer days of the Church — it was admitted to the convention just in time for the election of the first Bishop. Whipple had been warned by various interests not to locate in Faribault, but he chose it for two reasons: the schools that had been started there and the offer of its citizens to give him a house — the only such offer he received. There had been tensions from the first, and the reasons were complex. Various solutions would be suggested.

But before these are described, it might be worthwhile to examine once more the original idea of a cathedral in Minnesota and its ideal place in the life of the Diocese. James Lloyd Breck, in his *Missionary Paper No. 25*, articulated that vision:

[The Cathedral] is the seat of the Bishop and his Staff of Missionaries. It is the Church in all its completeness as the pattern and model Church of the Diocese. It is the earthly and visible fountain head of all real Church life, to which the wearied and lonely laborer of the vineyard of the Lord may turn, and find refreshing draughts for his thirsty soul. It is the College of an Apostle, patterned after the College of Christ and His chosen twelve. It is the daily round of religious duty, in the midst of an atmosphere of continual Incense to the Throne of Grace. It is the training school for the young, which gather to it like doves to their cot; it is the Missionary School for nurturing the early piety of children, and bringing it to perfection, and it is the School for training the missionary of the Cross. It is here, that the young man, that is soon to go forth the solitary ambassador of Christ to a pagan or unsympathizing world, can drink deep and find strength therefrom to endure through many days. It is here, too, the Bishop himself, worn down with fatigue of long journeys, or perchance disheartened (for he is yet a man) may return and find refreshment and renew his strength for battle; it is here, also, that he may find his Council of the learned and pious men for such uses as he may require ...[47]

The vision began to be obscured by the vast geography of Minnesota. In the '70s, '80s, and '90s it had been a frontier bursting with change — white settlers on the move, Indian communities being uprooted, railroads and highways under construction, fortunes being won and lost. By 1900, commerce and industry, culture and politics were focused upon the Twin Cities and the port of Duluth. In 1866 the diocese had been divided into three regions. Bishop Whipple reported to the Convention:

In a Diocese of such size as our own we are so isolated we lose each other's sympathy and that kind of brotherly fellowship which is the strongest bond of unity. I cannot visit the remote stations more than once a year. It would relieve much of this isolation if the Diocesan Convention were to divide the Diocese into three Convocations, — the Northern to include all the country along the Valleys of the Mississippi and the Minnesota, north and east of St. Paul, — the Middle to include St. Paul, Stillwater, Faribault, Hastings, Northfield, Owatonna, Wilton, and the country north and west of Dodge County, — the Southern to embrace all the country south of Hastings on the Mississippi, and the two southern tiers of counties.[48]

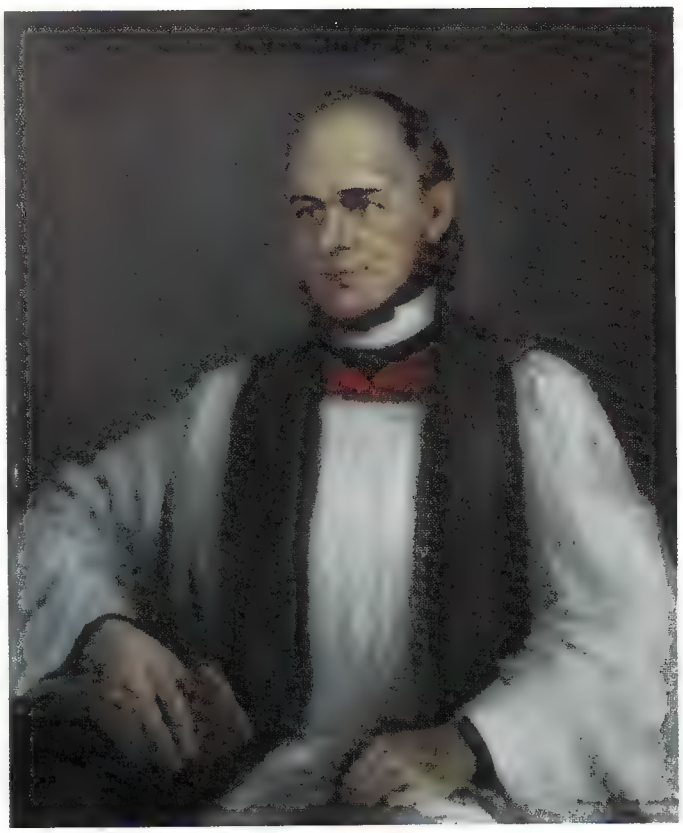
DEANS, AN ASSISTANT BISHOP, AN ARCHDEACON

Each Convocation would have a dean appointed by the Bishop to administer missionary work, visit each parish and mission, care for the clergy and congregations, and report annually. The system was adopted and "rural deans" appointed, but discussion about financing convocations and their missionaries was a continual convention agenda item. In 1873 boundaries were rearranged as railroads opened new areas. In 1882 there were four convocations. Following establishment of the Diocese of Duluth in 1895, the convocations would be reduced to three — Minneapolis, which included the northern counties in the remaining Diocese of Minnesota; Faribault, which had the southwestern counties; and St. Paul, which comprised the southeastern counties along the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. The deans were generally from the larger congregations and from Seabury.

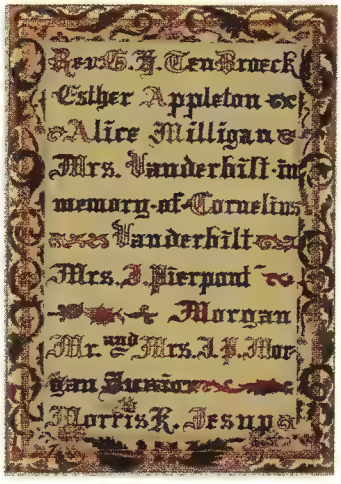
As early as 1873 other solutions had been considered by the Convention. That year Bishop Whipple suggested that there were three alternatives: 1. to divide the Diocese — a step that he did not then favor; 2. to elect an Assistant Bishop, who would

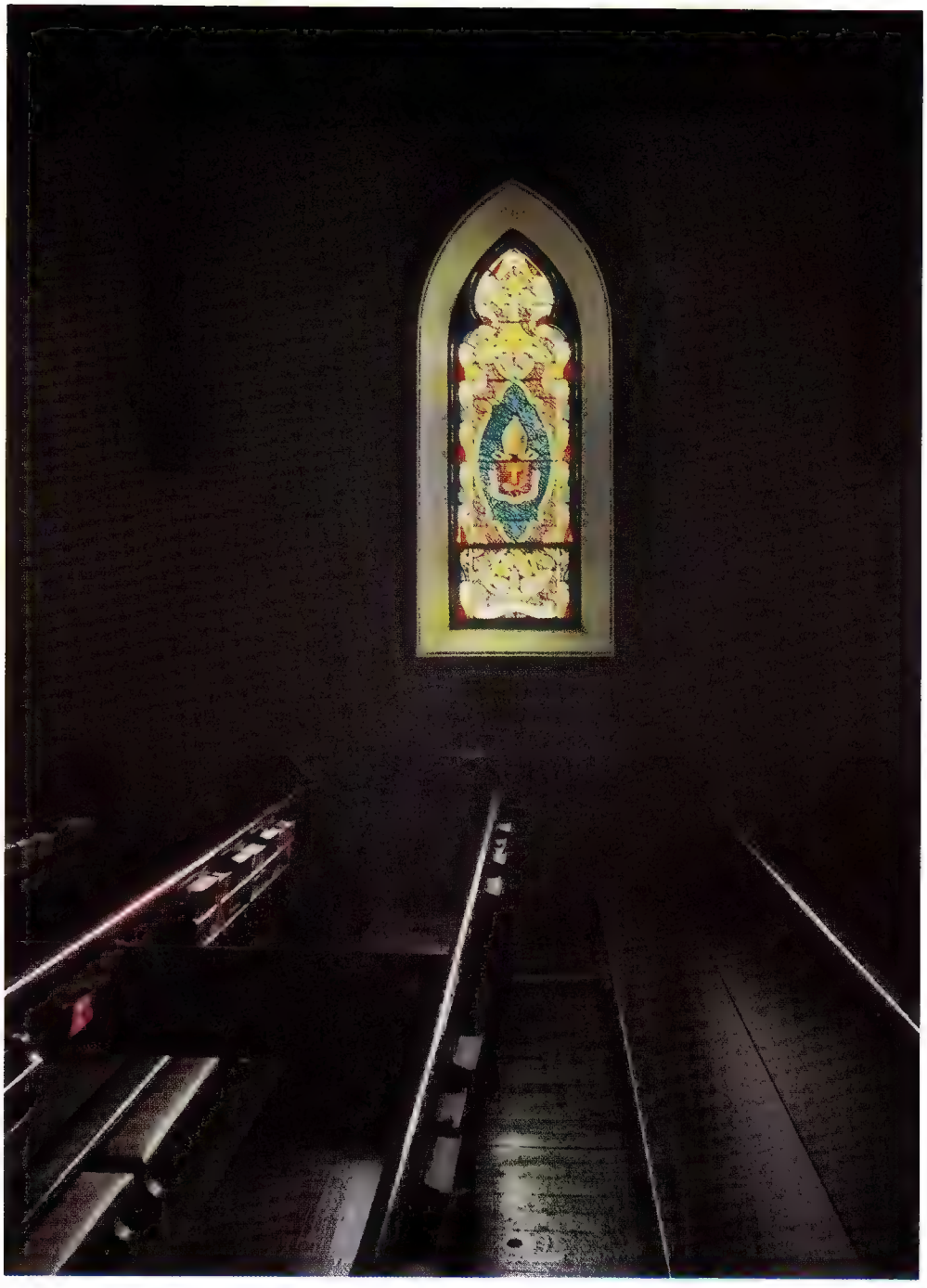
[46]The phrase is from W.B. Yeats' poem *The Second Coming*.
[47]"No page numbers" uncatalogued item in Mankato State University Library.
[48]Tanner, p. 408.

Above: *The Cathedral chancel in late afternoon, with light shining on the tile floor.* **Left:** *Beams and ceiling looking west. (All color photographs by Cheryl Younger unless otherwise noted.)*

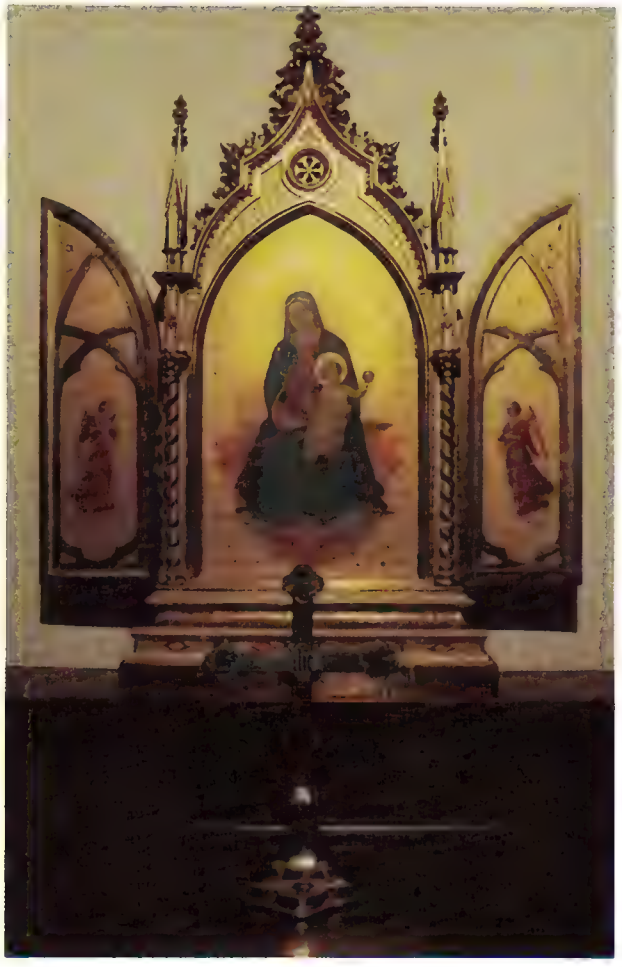


Opposite page: *Painted photograph of Bishop Whipple, in the south porch of the Cathedral.* Top left: *Painting of Cornelia Wright Whipple, at St. Mary's Hall.* Above: *Painting of Evangeline Marrs Whipple, at St. Mary's Hall.* Left: *Painting of James Lloyd Breck, at Breck School, Minneapolis.*



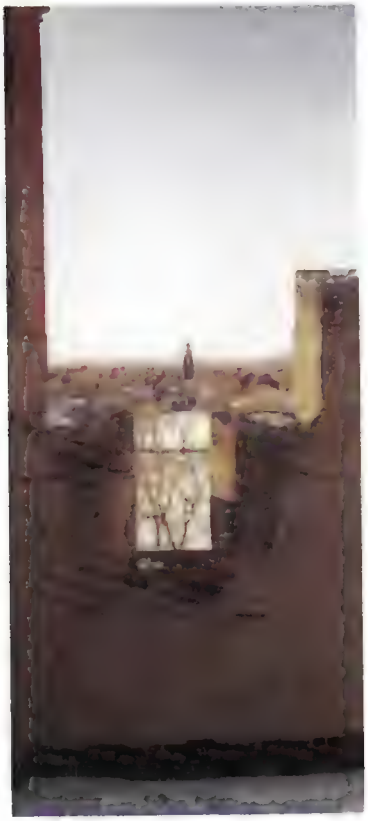


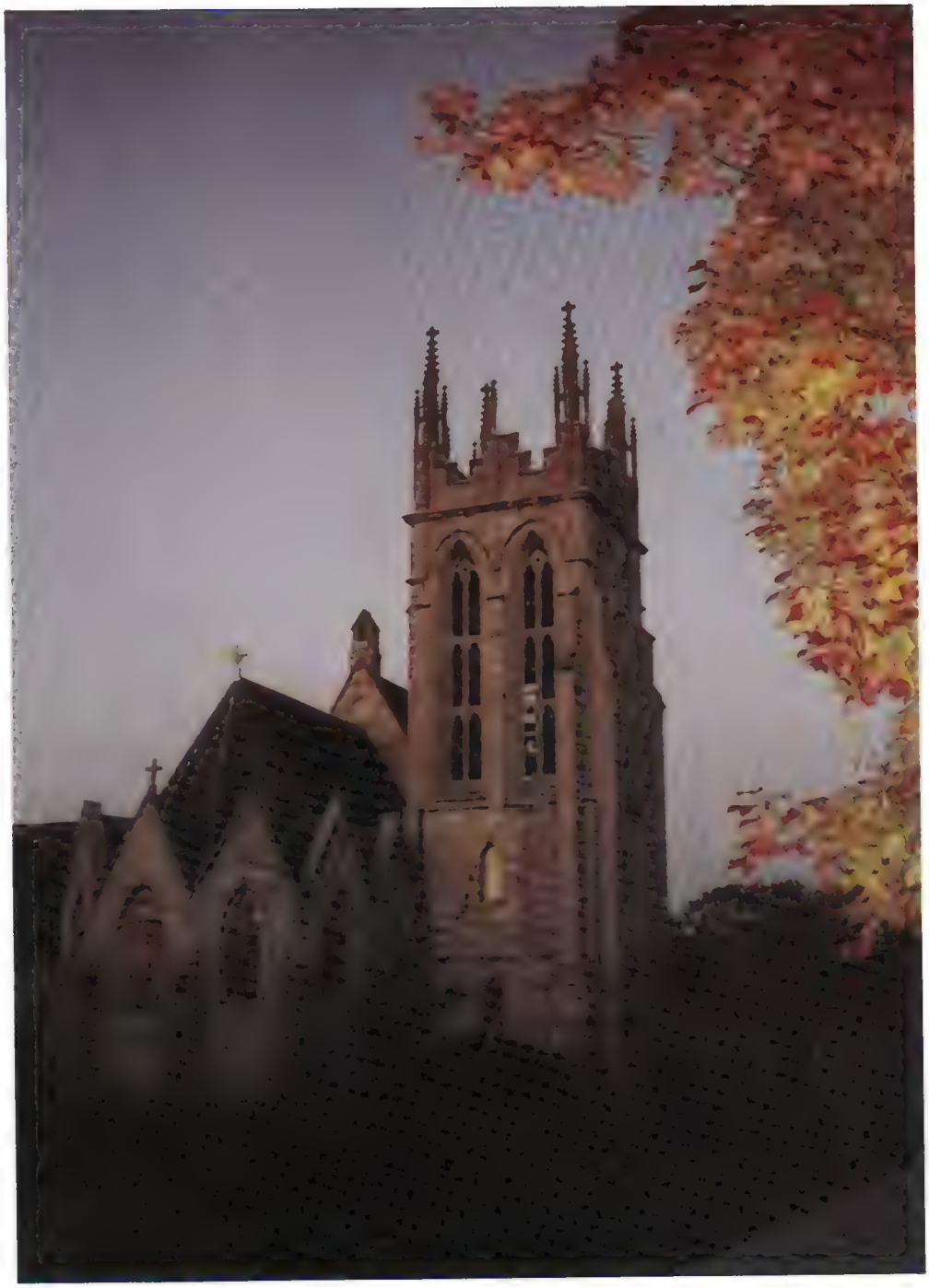
Above: *Two pages from the Tower Book, lettered and illuminated by Stella Cole and Dean Slattery.* Top right: *The Diocesan Seal window, given by Christian Indians, and pine pews in the Cathedral.* Below: *Embroidery with Passiontide symbols on an old superfrontal.* Opposite page — top left: *Altarpiece and cross in the Chapel.* Top right: *Window in the Great Hall of the Guild House portraying St. John the Baptist, in honor of James Lloyd Breck.* Bottom left: *Two scenes from the Grail frieze in Gilbert Hall — Galahad prepares for the oath of knighthood; Galahad renounces Blanchfleur.* Bottom right: *The Gear chalice.*



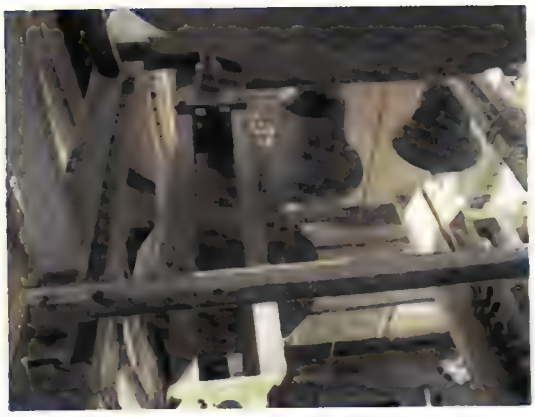
Galahad grown
a Stalwart
Youth taketh the
Oath of Knighthood

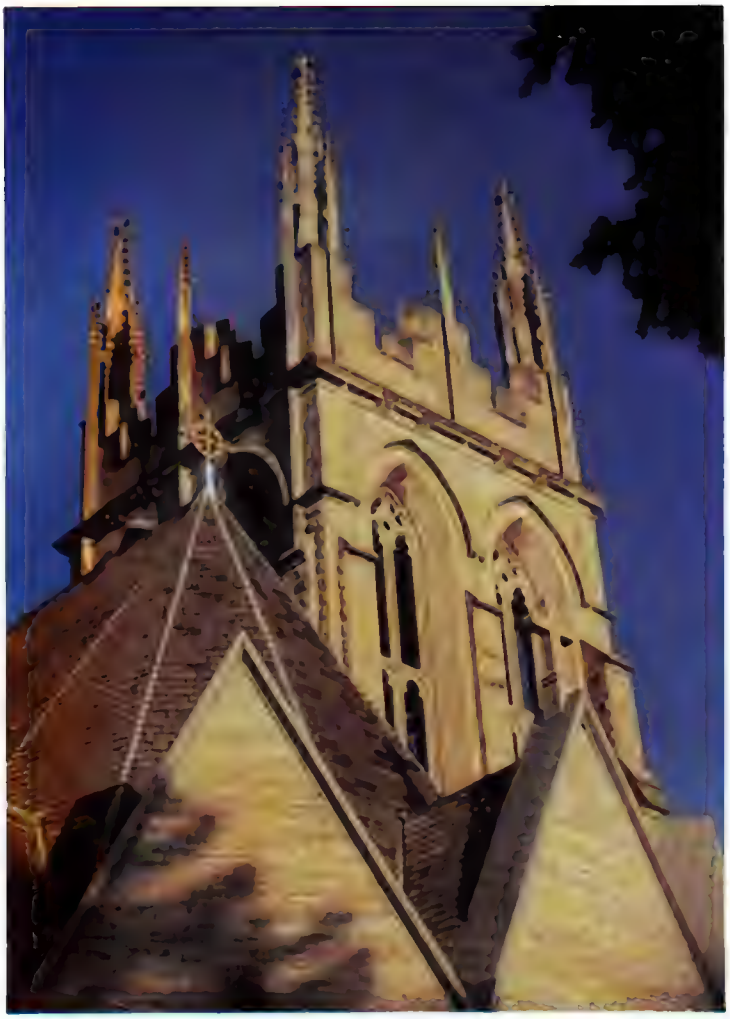
For the
Sake
of the Grail





Above: *View from the top of the tower, looking west towards Sacred Heart.* Right: *The Cathedral in autumn (photo by Dean Winkler).* Below: *Some of the bells.* Opposite page — top: *A view of the tower from the southeast (photo by Dean Winkler).* Below: *The roof, from the tower.* Right: *A pinnacle, with traces of old initials.*





Above: *The Christmas tree in the Cathedral.* Right: *The north door in winter (photo by Don Wafler).* Bottom: *White candles replace purple for Christmastide.*

Bishop Gilbert, Fisherman

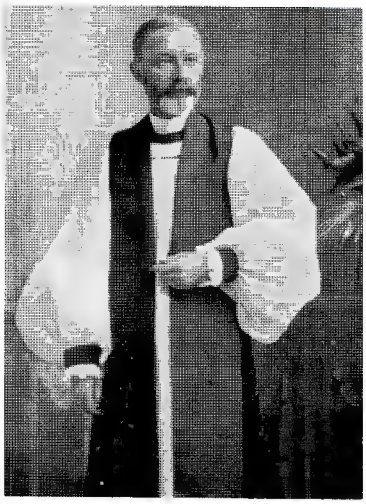
"On one of his camping vacations in Montana, Bishop Gilbert had a unique experience, which he recorded in an article published in *Field and Stream*, the magazine for sportsmen. It is entitled 'Three Big Trout on Two Flies.' ... He was casting with two flies on one line, when, at the same moment, two trout seized the flies. While he was playing them, a great 'bull trout' tried to swallow the smaller of the two, and, then too late, discovered that he was himself caught. After a long fight the Bishop succeeded in guiding all three into his landing net. 'The excitement and work have exhausted me. I sit down and breathe. Then I weigh them and find that their combined weight is eight pounds and a half. Three trout on two flies, and landed with a seven-ounce rod. I was satisfied ... I made no further casts, but revelled in the glory and the grandeur of the scene ...' "

—from Francis Palmer's *Life of Bishop Gilbert*

* * * * *

"A river captain was asked if he knew the Bishop. 'Know him? Why, many a time we've been fishing together. He is a great preacher and a first-rate fisherman ... I like Bishop Gilbert — he is so common.' "

—*Ibid.*



The Rt. Rev. Mahlon Norris Gilbert, Assistant Bishop.

live in St. Paul; 3. to form a Minnesota "province" with as many bishops as necessary, all working together under the presidency of the Senior Bishop. When Whipple finished speaking, Wuhbunuhgust ("White Cloud"), an Ojibwa chief from the White Earth reservation, asked permission to address the delegates. The *Democrat* described his speech, interpreted by Enmegahbowh:

He was full of thankfulness to the Great Spirit for his conversion, and delighted at being able to speak to the palefaces ... He expressed unbounded confidence in Bishop Whipple, and asked that more missionaries be sent to his people. If the Diocese was to be divided, he wanted Bishop Whipple to be their *Bishop.*[49]

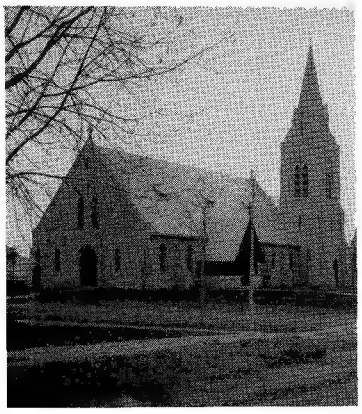
Indeed, one of the reasons Whipple had given for his opposition to the first alternative was that it would cut him off from the Indians he loved.

The Convention appointed a committee to study various possibilities. The situation would continue unresolved for another 13 years. Meantime the numerical strength of the Diocese would grow, the Bishop would be away for long periods, and the pastoral needs of the clergy and schools would be unattended to. Finally, in 1886 the Convention elected the Rev. Mahlon Norris Gilbert, rector of Christ Church, St. Paul, to be Assistant Bishop.

Like Whipple, Mahlon Gilbert was born in New York. He was graduated from Hobart College in his home state but did his theological study at Seabury. He began his ministry in Montana under Bishop Tuttle, but at Bishop Whipple's suggestion had come to St. Paul five years ago. Consecrated at St. James' Church, Chicago, on October 17, 1886, Gilbert served fourteen years as Assistant Bishop and died at St. Paul on March 2, 1900.

Gilbert was greatly loved. He was, however, a bishop in the capital city, and Palmer in his biography calls him "St. Paul's foremost citizen." He had been rector of the "Mother Church" of the Diocese and his friends tended to be St. Paul Episcopalians. At Christ Church, Gilbert had received a salary of $3,000 and a house. As a bishop he got $3,000 and no house. Christ Church parishioners and others gave the Gilberts $10,000 with which to buy one. They settled near Summit Avenue, St. Paul's most distinguished neighborhood. Their two daughters were students at St. Mary's Hall in Faribault, but the Gilberts, whose personal life was refined and retiring, preferred the Twin Cities. At the end, his funeral would be held at Christ Church, and he would be buried next to Mrs. Gilbert in St. Paul's Oakland Cemetery.

[49]June 13, 1873, p. 3.



Top: *St. Clement's Church, St. Paul — built for Bishop Gilbert, but not a cathedral.* Bottom: *A map of the Diocese of Minnesota after Duluth became a missionary district in 1895.*

One piece of tangible evidence for the shift toward the Twin Cities was the construction of St. Clement's Memorial Church. Palmer says that the church was built for Bishop Gilbert's special use, and many began to call it the "Pro-Cathedral." Gilbert, however, in *The Minnesota Missionary* explained:

I have placed the church here after consultation with many in the Diocese, because I feel that we lack strength and importance in the great centers of the state, and because I have at length concluded that it is desirable that a bishop should have a church for the special performance of his official duties — a church which he can call his own. This is not, however, a cathedral. Make no mistake in that respect. The cathedral is in Faribault, and must so remain as long as the precious life of our revered Bishop is spared to us and to the Diocese.[50]

Another attempt to deal with Minnesota's geography was the appointment of an archdeacon, at the suggestion of Bishop Gilbert, to administer general mission work. The Ven. T.H.M.V. Appleby, who had been a missionary in the Red River Valley and had done much of his work in remote northern areas of the state, was chosen. A tireless priest who traveled tens of thousands of miles, Mr. Appleby would come to be regarded as the founder of a new diocese.

DULUTH

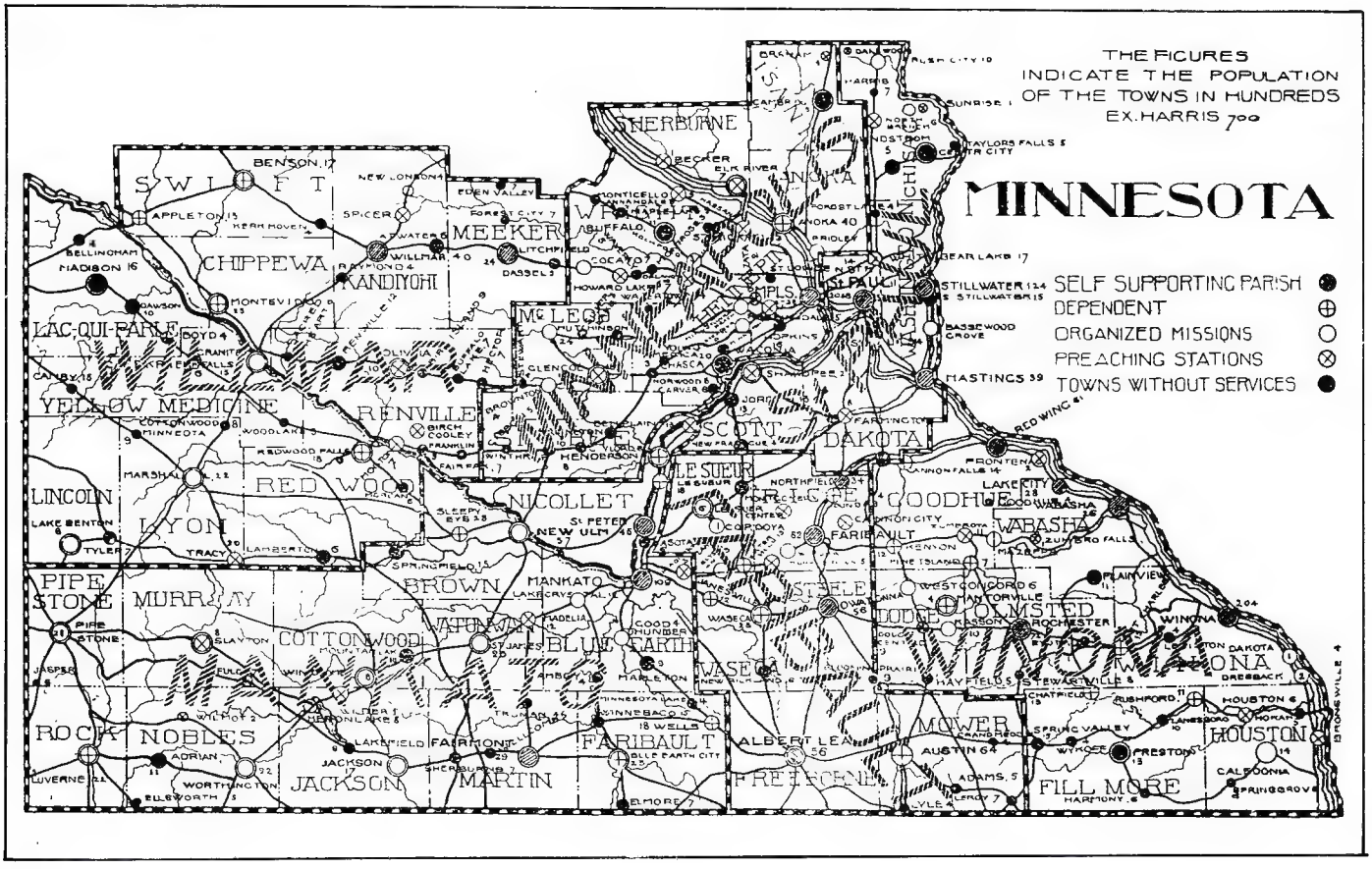
Five years later, in 1892, a more drastic solution was suggested — by Bishop Whipple himself: divide the Diocese. The Convention was meeting at St. Paul's, Duluth — the first time it had met north of the Twin Cities. He said,

My noble-hearted assistant is breaking from overwork. No man can bear for a long time the strain of such unending toil. If you would save him to the Diocese and to the Church, you must relieve him now. The only possible relief is the division of the Diocese.[51]

The Convention of 1894 debated boundaries and settled upon Bishop Whipple's original proposal: the northern two-thirds of the counties would comprise the new diocese. A "memorial" was drafted for the General Convention meeting in Minneapolis

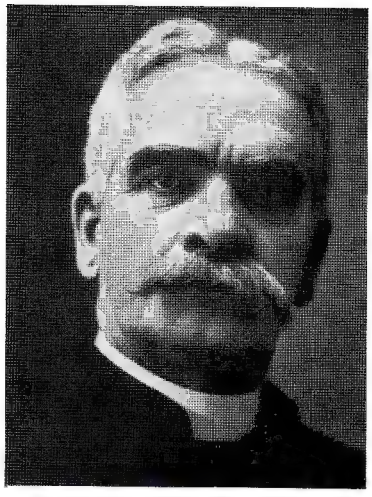
[50] Francis Lesesne Palmer, *Mahlon Norris Gilbert*, Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co., 1912, p. 197.

[51] Diocese of Minnesota *Journal*, 1892, p. 60.



in 1895. The proposal was accepted, but since there was no provision for funding the new diocese, it became a Missionary District under the oversight of Bishop Gilbert until 1897. By the next year, $20,000 had been raised to endow the episcopate, and a large grant had been received from John D. Rockefeller for work on the Iron Range. James Dow Morrison was elected first Missionary Bishop on October 21, 1896. During his first three years he also served North Dakota, until Samuel Edsall was consecrated in 1899. The missionary district was financially sound by 1907 and became an independent diocese.

The Diocese of Duluth was distinguished by the missionary work of its archdeacons: Appleby, J.A. Gilfillan, and H.F. Parshall. The Ojibwa reservations were served by two illustrious Ojibwa priests, Enmegahbowh — who had served since the days of Breck — and Edward Kah-o-sed. A training school for Indian clergy was located at White Earth. The *Ojibwa Service Book and Hymnal* had been translated, largely by Kah-o-sed, and a three-day Ojibwa Convocation was held annually to draw together the Indian missions. Otherwise, there was little progress: "The Scandinavians on the farms, the men in the lumbercamps and on the docks, the foreigners on the iron ranges" — to quote Bishop Morrison — were hardly being reached. High hopes for the growth of Northern Minnesota began to decline by 1915.[52]



The Rt. Rev. James Dow Morrison, first Bishop of Duluth.

[52]Sheppard, p. 21.

POPE'S PLAN

The Church's work in Minnesota had grown more and more complex — first breaking into convocations, then into two dioceses, and finally administered by three bishops. In the Diocese of Minnesota, Minneapolis and St. Paul had become dominant. A proposal for even further division of the diocese was published in September, 1908 by the Rev. William Pope, rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd in St. Paul. The proposal called for a "Diocese of St. Paul," which would include the eighteen eastern counties from Rush City to St. Paul down the Minnesota River to LeSueur and south to Albert Lea. "The Diocese of Minneapolis" would include the thirty counties remaining in the Diocese of Minnesota. No provision at all was made for the Faribault Cathedral —indeed, it was never mentioned! It is perhaps ironic that in the years just before, the Cathedral had been at its strongest ever. Under the leadership of Charles Slattery, membership was over 800, and in 1899 the congregation had paid a larger contribution to missions than any other parish. There had even been plans for enlarging the building with transepts. But Slattery had left Minnesota in 1907. Mr. Pope's proposal was never acted upon; it shows, however, how peripheral the role of Faribault had become in the vision of many.

THE END OF AN ERA

News of Evangeline Whipple's death came to Faribault in 1930. The Second Mrs. Whipple had left the huge Victorian "See House" across from the Cathedral in 1910. Her departure was hurried: furniture was never covered, nor were cut flowers taken from their vases. Books were left open on her desk. (Letters from almost a decade earlier also lay unanswered on the Bishop's.) Her strict orders to the Cathedral verger and caretaker, Maj. Milligan, were to close the house and allow no one to enter. Living in the basement, he had carried out Evangeline's instructions for twenty years.

Evangeline had spent her last years in Italy, in a Tuscan village near Pisa called Bagni di Lucca. There she enjoyed the companionship of her friend Rose Elizabeth Cleveland and a tiny circle of distinguished English and American residents. *A Famous Corner of Tuscany*, published in London by Jarrold's, is her account of the village's history and the stories of aristocrats and literati who flocked there. Generosity, so characteristic of her patronage of the Indian missions in Minnesota, was also lavished upon the Italian villagers: for example, she purchased instruments for the local band, handed out gloves and balls so Italian boys could play an American-style game, and provided funds for the local school. Though she had died in London, her body was buried near her villa in the Anglo-American cemetery beside Miss Cleveland's grave.

The Whipple rose garden.

"Obviously not all of the $20,000 would be used for this purpose. The Vestry found bids for the new chapel choir room addition "gratifyingly low," making it possible to install even a restroom in the basement.

The contents of her will were reported in the *Faribault Daily News*, October 1, 1930. St. Mary's Hall was to receive most of the money, but the Cathedral would get $20,000 earmarked for a stone altar and crypt to memorialize her husband.[53] The Cathedral also received the "See House," the Deanery (which she had built), and another house on the block — none of which it could afford to maintain. The mission at Birch Coulee was included with a bequest, as was the church in Maitland, Fla. Last of all, the English church in Bagni di Lucca was left with a fund for "the Poor in Winter." All papers and personal effects of Bishop Whipple were left to his son, Charles.

Three years later, the contents of the Whipple house were auctioned off. The public sale was to last twelve days. In 1934 the house, after years of neglect, was demolished. Two funeral parlors stand on the site today.

The Bishop's Old House

The Whipple house was boarded up all the while I remember it. Mrs. Whipple was still alive but never there. At that time most folks said she travelled and then sent boxes of things back that were stored in the big house. Major Milligan had a room in the basement of the Whipple house. I was in his room, down there, one time. One Saturday I was waiting for choir practice. He asked me to go to the little store on 4th Street (which an old lady ran) and get him a bag of smoking tobacco. He always smoked a big, curved, stem pipe. He gave me a nickel for doing this, and I was afraid to ask for tobacco, but I went. I spent the nickel first and then asked for the tobacco, and she wouldn't sell it to me.

Now I was afraid to return without the tobacco and didn't have the nickel either. But I went back, and he asked me in. When I told him what happened — he was sort of a gruff person — he said something to the effect of "Wait till I see her," etc.

Anyway, this room he lived in was a basement room. The basement was really built on top of the ground, only one foot or so down in. The basement walls ran up to the first floor and the porches were on that level too, with lattices built underneath them.

I'm sorry I never went to the sale when they sold the furnishings. A friend of mine and my sister Dorothy helped with the sale. I remember them saying how the old house had settled in the center. These big, old houses years ago had only quarry stones beneath the big pillars needed to hold them up. It was almost impossible to jack up a big house without doing so much damage that, cost-wise, it wouldn't be worth it.

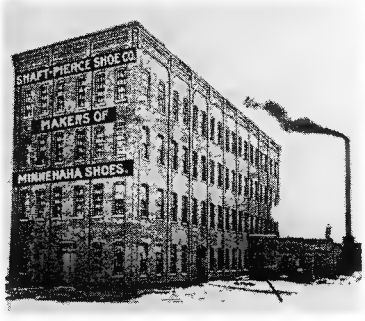
There was what we called a rose garden east of the Bishop's big house. We called it a rose garden, but I think it turned into a grape arbor. It was big and I remember all the iron pipe and braces, etc., that stood there. There was another rose garden similar to this one on 5th Street, where Sally Beneke lived before her death. It too stood east of her house, about where the stucco house next door is now. The Bills lived there. They went to our church. I can remember him walking along with his gold-topped cane. They were beautiful people. Their driver would take the children to Sunday School and in the winter would drive the span of black horses hooked to a cutter. The sleigh bells would be jingling and the fur lap robes would partly hang outside the seats. When we were kids we called them millionaires, and maybe they were.

— Herb Clarke

Top: *Bagni di Lucca, the home of Evangeline Whipple in her last years and her last resting-place.*
Bottom: *Another view of the Whipple garden.*

Chapter VII

THE FORTY YEARS AFTER WHIPPLE: "BETWEEN HOPE AND GREAT DEPRESSION"



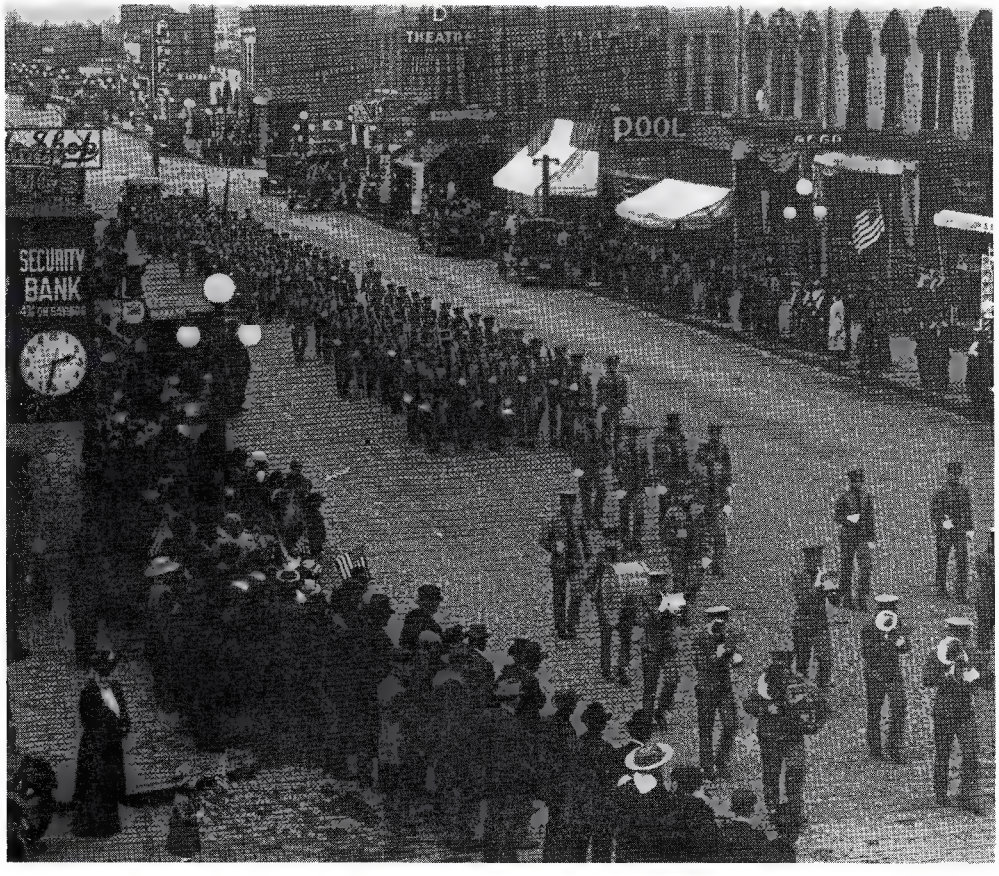
Top: *The Opera House, before it burned in 1928.* Below: *The Shaft-Pierce Co.* Bottom: *Shads marching south along Central Avenue in 1917, perhaps on Memorial Day.*

The early years of the century were a time of material progress, as electricity and telephones and cars became available to those who could afford them. In 1907 Faribault enacted its first speed limit — eight miles per hour. In 1910 Central Avenue was paved from Division to 6th Street. During this period Hollywood began to appear at the Opera House: first silent movies in 1908 (tickets 15¢ and 25¢) and "talkies" in 1911.

After the tragedy of World War I came the Roaring '20s. There must have been very few flappers in Faribault, but music and dancing became all the rage. ("How ya gonna keep 'em down on the farm, After they've seen Paree?")

In 1926 Herbert Sellner invented the Tilt-a-Whirl, which became a Faribault industry, and the town celebrated the centennial of Alexander Faribault's arrival to trade with the Wahpekute. F.F. Kramer wrote an ambitious historical pageant (cast of over three hundred). Governor Christianson in his address gave equal credit to *Mrs.* Faribault for the town's beginnings. Population was estimated to be 12,272: 88.1% white, 11.8% "foreign-born white," and .1% (12¼ individuals) "colored." No Indians. There were 32 factories and three newspapers. Average teachers' salaries: $2,170 for men, $1,560 for women.

The Great Depression devastated the Faribault area as farm prices plummeted. In 1920 wheat sold for $2.96 a bushel; in the early '30s it was down to 36¢. Prices in the stores were lower, but not in the same proportion: three pounds of hamburger at the A&P now cost 25¢ (versus 45¢ in the late '20s); a suit at Jim & Joe's sold for $18 — when one sold at all — instead of $45. Unemployment was high, especially after the Shaft-Pierce Co. closed in 1934. (At its height in the late '20s, it had employed seven hundred, reportedly turning out seven thousand pairs of shoes a day.) By the end of this period, the town had begun to recover, and World War II was on the horizon. Shattuck tuition was now up to $1,000. (In 1987 it would cost more than ten times that much.)



The swift succession of three Deans-and-Rectors immediately following Dr. Slattery might suggest instability. Perhaps there was some, but it had nothing to do with the brief tenures of George Bartlett, Frank McElwain, and Paul Matthews. Two were elected bishop almost right away. Nonetheless, there was a decline after Slattery's departure, which may suggest that some were more attracted to his personality than to the Church itself.

GEORGE BARTLETT (1908-1911)

The Rev. George Griffiths Bartlett was in Faribault for only three years. He had come from Philadelphia and would return home. History repeated itself: as soon as he arrived, Bartlett, like Slattery before him, discovered the lack of men in church. Like Slattery, he started a men's group. He also started a Bible study group; it would concentrate on the "hard sayings" of Jesus.

Vestry minutes of the Bartlett years are dominated first by problems with the furnace, then by finances in general. A "complete modern system of heating and ventilating" had been installed in 1907. It had been necessary to erect a chimney ten-by-six feet, sixty feet high, next to the organ chamber. A fan was supposed to keep the Cathedral constantly supplied with fresh air.[1] The system did not work, and after months of discussion the Vestry told the manufacturer to remove it "forthwith." By 1910 there was a serious deficit. The minutes of January 12 record that Mr. Jewett doubled his pledge, and that others followed his lead. Alfred Hoyt Bill, the clerk, added this personal postscript:

A long, dry, and strenuous meeting, swinging between hope and great depression. The old committee, Mollison, LeCrone, Smith, and Bill, were appointed to work on special subscriptions. "In manus tuas!"[2]

"Between hope and depression"—that could be the epitaph of this whole period. The financial problem would not soon be solved. But Mr. Bartlett's daughter had developed a chronic bronchial disorder, and on the doctor's advice he accepted a call back to Pennsylvania. Four years later he would be elected Dean of the Philadelphia Divinity School. The *Democrat* called him "one of the ablest and most interesting preachers Faribault ever had."[3]

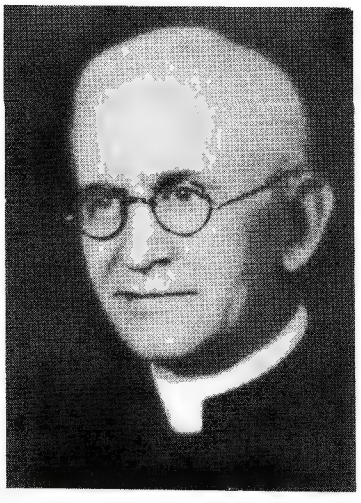
FRANK MC ELWAIN (1911-1912)

Mr. Bartlett was succeeded by the Rev. Frank Arthur McElwain, Warden of Seabury, already at 36 one of the most prominent clergymen in the Diocese. The Vestry gave him a call in May, 1911:

Resolved that a call be extended to the Rev. F. A. McElwain, M.A., to become Rector of the Cathedral Parish from Sept. 1st, 1911 at a salary of $1,800.00 per annum with the understanding that Mr. McElwain occupy the Deanery, and that he may, if he so desires, continue such duties as Warden and Professor as he shall not find to impair his usefulness as Rector of the Parish.[4]

McElwain did choose to continue his work at Seabury and did not think it necessary to hire a curate. Money continued to be a problem for the Parish. More and more, each vestryman was responsible to go out and solicit "subscriptions" for regular expenses and for missions. Sometimes money even had to be appropriated from the Bazaar Fund, though generally this was used only for maintaining the Guild House and its work, not for the more spiritual work of the Church. The Parish must have been pleased with McElwain, for in March, 1912, the Vestry increased his salary $200; but by the end of the month he had been named Suffragan Bishop of Minnesota.

The election process was long and contentious: the laity were unanimous in their support of McElwain, while the clergy generally favored the Rev. C. Edgar Haupt. When in July the Vestry voted to call Haupt, Bishop Edsall replied that such a choice was "not expedient." (Haupt became Superintendent of Breck School in 1915 and continued there until 1938.) McElwain was consecrated bishop on October 13, 1912, in the



Top: *The Very Rev. George Bartlett.* Below: *The Very Rev. Frank Arthur McElwain, who soon would be the third Bishop of Minnesota.*

[1] *Democrat*, Sept. 27, 1907, p. 3.
[2] The Latin phrase means "Into thy hands [I commend my spirit]."
[3] Feb. 17, 1911, p. 3.
[4] Minutes of May 23, 1911.

Faribault Cathedral. Up to this time, bishops for Minnesota had always been consecrated outside of the Diocese.

The Rt. Rev. Frank McElwain was a popular bishop, though in his later years he was overshadowed by his more energetic Coadjutor—a situation he seems not to have minded. He started out as number-two (elected Suffragan to Bishop Edsall) and he ended up, unofficially, the same way. In a memorial tribute many years later, Dr. Paul Kramer said that the outstanding quality of Bishop McElwain's life had been humility. A recollection of McElwain's from the day of his consecration corroborates this:

Just before the procession started, Bishop Edsall called me to the stairway leading to the basement [of the Guild House] where the Minnesota clergy were gathered; and in the name of the brethren, the Rev. A. G. Pinkham presented me with my [bishop's] ring. ... I thought that it was rather large for a comparatively small man. But that is just a parable of the relation which such an office bears to the person who has been called to it ... [5]

He was a young man—a fact that some resented—and, despite a loud voice, had a quiet personality. Though McElwain was responsible for missions, he chose, like his superior, to live in the Twin Cities. When Bishop Edsall died in 1917, it was not at all certain that McElwain would automatically succeed him. (A suffragan does not have that right.) The period before the election was an embarrassing time, but McElwain said that he tried to make everyone feel that "whether or not the choice fell on me I would not let differences of opinion on that matter affect my personal feeling toward anyone."

Difficulties did not end with his election. Long before the Crash of '29, "outstate" Minnesota had been in economic trouble, and McElwain concentrated most of his efforts on behalf of rural missions. On the other hand, in 1932, when St. Mark's in Minneapolis and St. John the Evangelist in St. Paul were without rectors, he took over both parishes, thereby saving funds for diocesan missions. The next year, with the move of Seabury to Evanston, he functioned as its Dean, coming back by train to Minnesota on weekends and during the seminary's vacation periods.[6] He continued as Dean of Seabury-Western for twelve years, thus helping to save both the Diocese and the seminary from financial crisis. He died in 1957, "unquestionably the most beloved bishop in the history of the Diocese."[7]

Paul Matthews (1913-1914)

With the election of Frank McElwain in 1912, the Parish and Cathedral were left without clerical leadership for almost a year. Several calls were issued but rejected, either by the recipient or by Bishop Edsall. A coincidence, however, solved the problem. In April, 1913, Senior Warden H. C. Theopold told the Vestry that the former dean of the cathedral in Cincinnati had been appointed to a professorship at the Divinity School. The Very Rev. Paul Matthews was invited to preach, and he made a fine impression. He was interested in serving at the Cathedral and accepted its call, as well as the Seabury post.

The arrangements were rather different from those under McElwain—indeed they have so far been unique in the history of this Parish. Immediately the new Dean-and-Rector hired an assistant, the Rev. Edwin Schiveley Carson of Philadelphia, who would be called Vicar of the Cathedral. "His precise title will be Vicar Carson," reported the *Democrat*—Matthews seems to have been particular about everything that involved etiquette, and especially things churchly. The article went on to say, "The dean's work will practically be done by the new vicar, who will occupy the deanery as his residence. His salary will be that of the dean."[8] This anomaly can be explained by the fact that Matthews had money. Not only had his inheritance been substantial—he had also married an heiress of Procter and Gamble. Dean Matthews, who is said never to have had fewer than three servants in his household, found the Cathedral's deanery inadequate. Furthermore,—according to his son, who heard it from his mother—Matthews never accepted a salary for any of his Church work.[9] In effect, he sublet most of the day-to-day duties to Vicar Carson, but retained the title and preached on Sundays. He also hired a woman at $25 per month to assist the Vicar with calling and Sunday School supervision. The next summer he added a divinity student at the same wage to

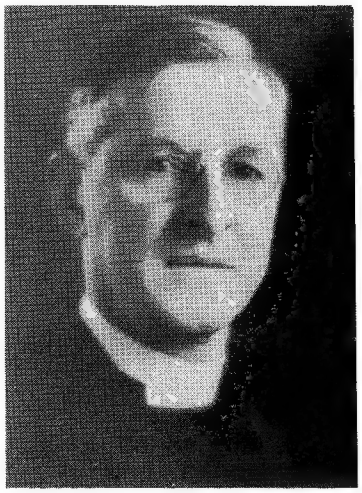
[5] *Minnesota Missionary*, Nov., 1932, p. 8.
[6] Not only had he served as Warden of Seabury twenty years earlier; he was recognized as the Church's leading scholar in canon law.
[7] Sheppard, p. 63.
[8] Aug. 29, 1913, p. 3.
[9] T. S. Matthews, *Name and Address* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), p. 41.

Dr. Matthews: Shads and Mollies at the Cathedral

"When I went to Faribault, both [Shattuck and St. Mary's] were large and flourishing, and it was part of the task of the Dean of the Cathedral to preach on Sunday mornings to a congregation which included some two hundred school boys and more than a hundred school girls, in addition to the regular congregation. This was not an easy thing to do, as a large group of young people, while not intellectually critical or exacting, are not always easy to keep interested ... I cannot say that I was always absolute master of the situation, but as I look back on that experience, I wonder that I survived at all.

"Shattuck was ... a Military School, and it was a fine sight to see platoons of youngsters in their natty uniforms marching in as young Christian soldiers. I don't think that they always felt like soldiers, or Christians, either, but on the whole they behaved pretty well. Once in a while some luckless lad would be quietly shoved out of sight under one of the pews, as a punishment meted out by his fellows for some infraction of their code; but I pretended not to see such things, and went calmly on with sermon and service. The girls, of course, always behaved like little ladies — in Church!"

—from *Letters to My Grandchildren* by Paul Matthews ["Printed — not published, 1942"], p. 185.



Top: *The Very Rev. Paul Matthews.* Below: *The Very Rev. Frank Zoubek.*

work with the boys' program. The Guild House was soon being used seven days a week, and many who came to it had no connection with the Parish.

After a year, Mr. Carson resigned. Recently the Rev. Frank Zoubek had been appointed an instructor at Seabury, and Mr. Theopold suggested that he be hired as Vicar for one year at $800, "with full use of the deanery, with heat for the coming winter ..."[10] Dr. Matthews had planned to make Faribault his permanent home. Then unexpectedly he was elected Bishop of New Jersey. He resigned on November 19, 1914. Apparently, though, he loved the Faribault Cathedral: in later years he would return numerous times to preach. The stone cross in the east wall of the crypt was a gift from him.

FRANK ZOUBEK (1915-1925)

Life around the Cathedral must have been very different when Frank Zoubek took over. He was a hearty man, who sang exuberantly and had a house full of mischievous red-haired children.[11] Bishop Edsall nominated him for the Deanship, stating that Mr. Zoubek had "just that combination of qualities which are essential for permanent success in the work."[12] The Vestry concurred and set his salary at $1,800. He would stay for a decade. From the beginning he urged the vestrymen to take on responsibility for personal leadership:

He desired their presence — at least the presence of some *of them — at Early Celebration and Evening Services on Sundays, and as teachers in the Sunday School and as members of the Choir. He asked that they furnish him with names of people to be called upon. He urged the use of Duplex Envelopes and the Every Member Canvass.*[13]

With a unanimous rising vote the Vestry indicated its support "as far as possible."

One attempt to deepen the spiritual life of the Parish was a week-long preaching mission during the first week of Lent, 1915. Described as "one of the greatest preachers in the Episcopal Church," Dr. Irving Peake Johnson had just recently come to Seabury and would soon leave, to become Bishop of Colorado. He agreed to conduct the mission only if thirty men would sign up ahead of time, pledging to attend every night.

The next year the United States was preparing to enter the Great War. The Women's Auxiliary gave a farewell party to enlistees and presented them each with a pocket New Testament and a "comfort kit." The Service Flag in the Cathedral would display sixty blue stars, one gold star (for Charles O. Cross), one red physician's star, and

[10]Minutes, Aug. 21, 1914; the salary was $1000 less than Carson received, presumably because of Zoubek's work at Seabury.

[11]At least that is how Stan Cann remembers them. Oscar Olin recalls that Frank Zoubek "slept year-round on the porch."

[12]Letter in Minutes Book.

[13]Minutes, June 15, 1915.

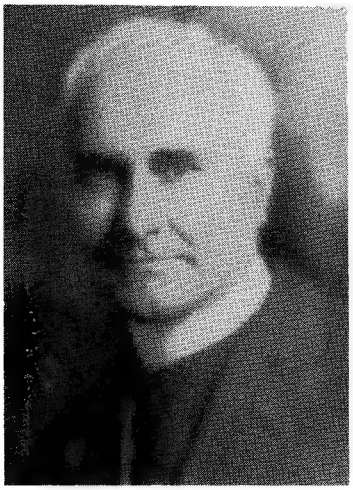
Four girls confirmed in 1917 — from left: *Inezi Morgan, Hazel Ulvenes, Mary Peavey, Viola Buckland.*

three Red Cross worker crosses. Not surprisingly, attendance at services increased. On November 11, 1918, World War I ended. Mr. Zoubek got the news at 2 a.m., rushed over to the tower, and rang the bells for all they were worth. It was one of the happiest moments of his life.[14] That year the old gas-lights in the nave were wired for electricity at a cost of $204, a memorial to former Junior Warden J. R. Smith.

Financial problems persisted. In Mr. Zoubek's first year the budget was approximately $6,000, but according to the *Daily Republican* only $3,500 of this was "raised locally." Besides the obvious question — Where did the rest of the money come from? — there is the implication that the Parish was unwilling to support its own program. The Every Member Canvass of 1915 helped considerably — about one hundred additional pledges were generated. But the Vestry had been cautious about adopting the Canvass approach, and apparently the old "subscriptions list" method remained in force for some years as well. When pledges and subscriptions declined in 1917 to $2,024.56, the Vestry tried to assess every family an extra $2. $1,000 had to be borrowed. The Security Bank agreed to lend that amount with the proviso that each vestryman, as an individual, endorse the note; and Bank President Peavey, even though his name could not appear on the face of the instrument, was the first to sign. (He was clerk of the Vestry.) At this time the National Church was conducting its first Nation-Wide Campaign, and the Parish had been asked to raise $2,500. Only $1,500 was realized. The organ needed major renovation, but the Vestry was willing to borrow $1000 only if the women of the Parish agreed to repay the amount. Then suddenly there was a new estimate — $3,000! The women took responsibility for raising $2,000, and the work went forward. The gymnasium in the basement of the Guild House was inadequate for the growing boys' club program, and there were hopes that a donor would give the $13,000 necessary to completely reconstruct the basement; instead she was interested in putting up a memorial chapel — and in the end nothing was built. One vestryman even suggested trying to get Evangeline Whipple's permission to convert the old See House into a gym and club rooms.

Finally, in 1922, Parish Treasurer D. F. Bangs reported, "After paying the above bills, there remains a balance of $39.41. I speak of this, as this is the *first* time it has happened."[15] He gave the credit to two men who had been able to raise $250 in additional pledges the previous month. During the same year, largely through the efforts of Dr. F. S. Warren, an endowment fund was started to give greater stability to the finances of the Parish. This would be Dr. Warren's "hobby" for many years.

[14]Letter from his son, Philip A. Zoubek.
[15]Vestry Minutes, Aug. 1, 1922.



Above: *The Very Rev. William C. Hengen.* Below: *The east end of the Cathedral, before the additions of 1934. At the bottom center is the old door to the Bishop's crypt.*

Gradually the Cathedral budget grew, reaching $12,000 in 1924. At the end of that year Frank Zoubek resigned, accepting the call of St. Mary's Church, St. Paul. He wrote this to the Parish:

After ten years a man has given his life's message. He can continue his work, but not with as aggressive power. A new personality and a new voice can do more. ... I can only say at this time that I have given the Parish my best — my whole heart and my whole life, and I pray that it may go on to do larger things.[18]

At St. Mary's he would not follow his own advice. There he would retire from active ministry in 1955 — 31 years after leaving Faribault. His editorials in the *Chimes* constantly emphasized spiritual priorities, and he is remembered for a strong pastoral influence, but the spirit of the times and the apathy of many forced him to spend much of his energy on temporal matters.

WILLIAM CHARLES HENGEN (1925-1933)

His successor's greatest strengths likewise seem to have been pastoral, particularly with the many young people of the Parish. The new Dean, the Very Rev. William Hengen, had been at Trinity Church, Ottumwa, Iowa, for 25 years.[19] His hair was very white and his face ruddy. Apparently he could be very entertaining: Oscar Olin remembers him as "Eddie Cantor on the installment plan." He was an avid hunter and fisherman. He was concerned to raise the level of spiritual commitment and in his second year arranged for the Rev. E. Croft Gear to conduct a preaching mission. The topic was "What Kind of God is God?" In addition to an evening address each day, there was an early morning Communion and an afternoon Bible class. It was an inspiring week, but only the faithful came.

At the next year's Annual Meeting the Dean-and-Rector described the problem as he saw it:

It is not numbers that we need here, but a stimulation and rejuvenation of the large numbers of nominal members. ... The normal parish of this size would have about 100 persons indifferent to their privileges; we have at least 300. ... The chief work for several years to come is to reach these persons ...[20]

Like Dr. Breck, he seems to have gone house to house. In the meantime, the financial picture did not grow brighter.

At the beginning of 1927 Willis Shaft, chairman of the Every Member Canvass, reported that only about 60% of the membership had pledged: 15% of these, less than $5 for the year; 31%, between $5 and $10; 31%, between $10 and $25; 12%, between $25 and $50; 7%, between $50 and $100; and 4%, over $100. The highest pledge was $260. The total was nearly $10,000 — $2000 short of anticipated expenses.[21]

Worse, it was obvious that parts of the Cathedral building would soon need to be repaired: stonework required pointing, windows were buckling, the chancel roof was leaking. Some improvements had been made: six large ceiling fixtures replaced the old electrified gas-lights, and the chancel was redecorated by Mrs. Lilley. In worst shape was the crypt, as some participants in a conference at Shattuck discovered:

A group of us who were historically-minded thought we ought to make a pilgrimage of sorts to the tomb of Bishop Whipple. ... A dozen or so of us ... found a cellar door. We made our way down a few crumbling steps to an enclosure no bigger than a large closet. The sarcophagus was encased in concrete. Cobwebs were plentiful, dirt and leaves were scattered on the floor and on the tomb itself. A ragged broom leaned drunkenly atop some trash. We were shocked. Almost immediately we got up a petition ...[22]

In February, 1930, after a long discussion about delinquent pledges and the growing debt, it was decided that there would be a "welcoming committee" of three vestrymen at every service.[23] Given the context, it sounds like a euphemism for a *collection* committee. Apparently at this time many who could pay nothing on their pledges started staying away altogether. By November, 1931, the situation had grown so bleak that Bishop Keeler not only met with the Vestry but addressed a special meeting of the Parish. The Dean-and-Rector's salary for 1932 was cut $200. On November 23 Mr. Hengen announced his resignation, effective September 1, 1933 — "earlier if possible." It would prove difficult for him to find another position. He sold insurance in the Diocese

[18] *Chimes*, Jan. 17, 1925, p. 1.
[19] He was the first to use "Very Rev." with any regularity.
[20] Annual Report, January, 1926.
[21] *Chimes*, Feb. 29, 1927, p. 4.
[22] The Rev. Philip L. Shutt, Historiographer of the Diocese of Springfield, in a letter dated Dec. 20, 1985.
[23] Minutes, Feb. 6, 1930.

Services in the Twenties

"In the 1920s and early '30s, the Episcopal Church and its services were male-dominated. Men outnumbered women in the choir; the crucifer, flag-bearer, and acolytes were boys; the Dean and visiting clergy, of course, were men, as were the ushers and all members of the Vestry. Males in our choir dressed in the belfry, climbing up and down the iron spiral stairs. It was crowded up there, and many of the boys retreated to the stairs when Dean Zoubek climbed up to pump the handles of the carillon and my father followed to ride the rope sounding the call to worship. The clergy and women robed downstairs [where the Sacristy is now], and on Communion Sundays, just before the organ sounded the prelude, Dean Zoubek would kneel down beside a safe hidden in an alcove — not to pray but to spin the dial and bring out a bottle of sacramental wine. The activity was clothed in secrecy because this was the Prohibition era. Our Dean loved to sing, and he set the tempo for the processional. When Bishop McElwain visited I think he was always a little embarrassed because he was no match for the Dean in the vocal department. The Bishop was a shy little man whose hands shook when he took the Cup or did the Confirmation ceremony."

—Stan Cann

Growing Up Back of the Guild House

"My father was hired as Cathedral Janitor, and we moved into the cottage behind the Guild House. [The little house is gone now.] It was a narrow structure that faced the avenue, with a small porch spanning the front and a small shed tacked onto the rear, which we used for storage. As I remember, the house had a front living room, a bedroom, a small dining room and smaller kitchen downstairs, and a couple of tiny bedrooms upstairs. I don't believe it had any toilet facilities — I know it did not have a bath-tub. We used the stool in the Guild House basement, and a wash-tub in the kitchen for our Saturday night ritual. On the south side, the Botsford Lumber Co. sheds loomed only a few feet away and rose above our roof-line; so, although there were windows on that side, the house was almost always dark. On the other side, the kitchen end of the Guild House was only about eight feet away. The roof in those days was covered with slate, and it extended nearly half the distance to our house. The space between the two buildings was so narrow that in winter and early spring we were often caught in an avalanche. ... My brother and I dusted every piece of furniture and statuary in the Guild House, plus the pews and choir stalls, hymnal racks and kneeling benches in the Cathedral every week, vacuumed the aisle carpeting and swept the floors in both buildings. In summer there was a huge lawn to be mowed by hand, and in winter the sidewalks to shovel. ... Like the Dean's kids, we were expected to attend both Sunday School and morning service, so we underwent a thorough indoctrination in the Episcopalian way of doing things."

—Stan Cann

A controversy arose between the Guild and the Vestry over handling monies raised by bazaars. Heretofore the Vestry had applied most of these funds to the maintenance of the Guild House and its programs. But the women of the Parish had some other projects in mind. As the Vestry Minutes put it, "The ladies say from now on, they are going to spend the money and the Vestry can make the suggestions."[16] [It did not make matters easier for the Vestry that a couple of its members had wives who were prime movers in the Guild, Mrs. Newhall being the most prominent.] Soon the Guild was talking about maybe adding a "cloister" and robing room to the Cathedral.[17]

[16] *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1923.
[17] *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1923.

Milligan: Soldier and Servant

On October 3, 1915, there was a great festive Evensong to honor the "Jubilee" of William Milligan, the Cathedral's veteran Verger. The service was the idea of Bishop [ex-Dean] Paul Matthews, who came from New Jersey to be the preacher. Former Dean George Bartlett, who could not attend, sent a card to commemorate "the Golden Wedding of Mr. Milligan and the Cathedral." Three bishops besides Matthews were present. The Parish gave Milligan $100 in gold.

He had come to Faribault to work on the Cathedral in 1865, immediately after service in the Civil War. Originally he did only "rough work" and was paid $1.25 per ten-hour day. Eventually he would cut, shape, and plane all the pine lumber for the pews and choir stalls. When the building was finished he stayed on as verger [care-taker] of the Cathedral and as the Bishop's "man." Even after Whipple's death he stayed on, and when Evangeline Whipple left for Italy, she put him in charge of the big brown house.

In 1930 Milligan was featured in the *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*:

"Yes, I guess I'm almost a member of the Bishop's family ... Have been for years. Why, I remember going into the Bishop's study wearin' overalls, and he would introduce me to whoever was a'visiting him. Great men came to see Bishop Whipple. You're whistlin', they did. Men from all over the world came to see him. ... I reckon thousands have asked to go inside these last twenty years ... but to all I have said 'no.'"

Speaking of Whipple's study he remarked, "I've seen nearly every kind of man in this room. ... You're whistlin', I have. Indians, and Negroes too. And the Bishop treated them all alike." Asked if he would like to be given anything from the house he replied, "No, I guess not. I've had everything for twenty years."*

The Second Mrs. Whipple died that same year, and Milligan would die four years later, only six months before the great Rededication service. Most of the memorials that day would honor Bishop Whipple. But Milligan would be represented: the credence shelf at the right of the new altar was given by his sons Bill and John. William Milligan was 93 when he died; he had served as Cathedral Verger for 52 years and had been in the employ of the Whipple household for 69 years. He was the last man of the New York 62d Regiment, which originally had 1,300 men in it. He always liked to be called Major.

Edgar Pye still remembers Milligan:

*"The Bishop's House was always a mystery as we grew up ... Mr. Milligan lived there, and on a sunny day took the air in a chair just outside the door of the basement where he lived. Despite all our efforts we could never get him to open the door and let us in. It was only after Mrs. Whipple died that I did get in to see the lovely things he was guarding all those years."**

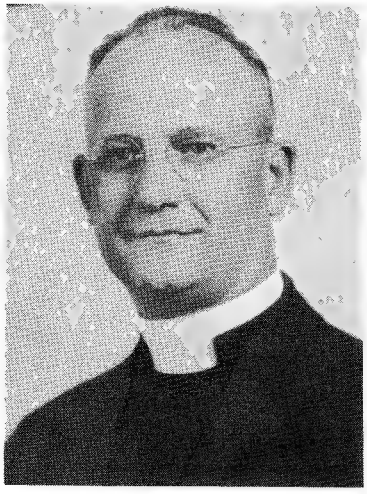
Only slightly paraphrasing the old service of Baptism, Anna Theopold aptly called Milligan "a faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end."***

*Sept. 14, 1930 **Letter from Mr. Pye ***Cathedral Notebook, p. 92.

William Milligan, shown as a Civil War soldier, just before he came to Faribault.

Visiting the Old Crypt

"One of our initiation rites for new kids in the neighborhood was to escort them to Bishop Whipple's tomb. ... Since it had an outside entrance, this was easy; convincing them there was a dead man lying a few feet from where we were standing was more difficult. We would pull open the iron door, lead them down the concrete steps and into the dark sepulchre. Because the burial place was so plain, it was hard to convince most of our friends that the good bishop was indeed buried there. ... Among the skeptical, the Catholic kids from the French Church across the park and schoolyard were the most numerous. They thought a bishop surely rated something better. The Baptist and Methodist kids were easier to impress — they didn't know what a bishop was anyway." —Stan Cann, Fargo, N.D.



The Very Rev. Vesper Ward.

of Duluth for a time, then did heroic work in the late '30s as an urban missioner and institutional chaplain in Minneapolis. The large granite stone set into the west wall just north of the main door, as well as the tiny bronze plaque beneath it were given in his memory. The plaque reads: "He served well before men as a servant of God."

The Cathedral had received two large bequests after 1930 – $3,000 from the estate of Miss Susan Salisbury, the niece of Bishop Whipple, and $20,000 from the estate of the Second Mrs. Whipple. Both had specified physical improvements – chancel windows and a memorial altar. None of the money was available for more pressing needs.

VESPER WARD (1933-1941)

In October, 1933, the Headmaster of Shattuck School announced that it would cut its contribution ("pew rent") from $750 to $550. The Vestry talked about the advisability of hiring a part-time solicitor. October 29 was designated "Pay-up Sunday." In addition, each household was asked to set aside one day's wage as a special Christmas offering to reduce the debt. The Rev. Vesper Ottmer Ward of All Saints' Church, Northfield, and a chaplain at Carleton College, was called in late October and began his new duties at the Cathedral on December 1. His salary was $2,000 — $400 less than Mr. Hengen had received in his last year.

From his first meeting with the Vestry, Vesper Ward made his priorities plain. First, he wanted to strengthen the Sunday and Tuesday School programs and proposed forming a Church School committee. (At this time he was head of the Religious Education Department of the Diocese, a post that he would continue to serve in.) Second, he was mindful of widespread unemployment and poverty and hoped to start a "Parish welfare committee." Third, he wanted, if possible, to resuscitate the old Cathedral organization by convening regular meetings of the "Larger Chapter." (By this time, of course, the Divinity School had moved, and for years the head of Shattuck had been a layman.) Mr. Ward apparently did not address finances.

In 1934 the budget was under $7000 — down over $4000 from what it had been in the late '20s. Since 1930, pledges had dropped from about $6200 to $4200; "other income" had remained stable, however — about $2000.[24] The policy was "that 1933 bills be given first consideration and the Dean's salary take precedence over 1934 bills." [25]

The Diocese and the National Church were also in desperate straits. Minnesota was trying to salvage as much of its program as possible with the "Plus Effort" drive. The "Hold the Line" campaign, run by a group of prominent laymen, was trying to bail out the National Church's missionary work, which by now was a half a million dollars in debt. *Hold the Line News* ("issued impulsively by the National Committee of the Everyman's Offering", based in Cincinnati) urgently sought donations like these:

$1 provides dried fish for one of Bishop Bentley's sled dogs for six weeks ... $45 supports a Negro clergyman in Arkansas for one month ... $200 supports a Chinese evangelist for one year ... $1000 pays the salary of a missionary in the Midwest ... $5000 operates Emery Hall, a mission school in Liberia, for one year ...[26]

In the midst of such conditions, the Cathedral would embark on a building program (financed by the Susan Salisbury and Evangeline Whipple legacies) and conduct a capital drive of its own — the "Re-Birth Campaign." Its motto would be "Back to God, and Save the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour!" The goal would be $40,000. A fund-raising firm from New York would charge a minimum of $1500 to coordinate the effort. At a special Parish meeting on September 20, 1934, Bishop Keeler "gave an inspirational talk, full of frank facts, in which he stated that it was up to the Cathedral Parish to assume the responsibility now of clearing itself of debt and thereby maintain the respect and prestige it deserves as the spiritual center of the Diocese."[27]

By the fall of 1934, construction was complete and the new memorials were in place. An addition had been built on the south side of the Cathedral. It included a chapel to house the furnishings from Bishop Whipple's oratory in the old See House; it also provided two choir rooms and a new crypt, under the chancel, for the Bishop's

[24] Minutes, Feb. 1, 1934.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] Whitsunday, 1934, issue, p. 4.
[27] Minutes, Sept. 20, 1934; the words are from the summary written by Lester Swanberg, clerk of the Vestry.

Top: *Construction work on St. Elizabeth's Chapel and the choir rooms, 1934.* Below: *Interior of the Chapel, 1934.*

remains. A new altar of stone and a hand-carved "throne" of oak also commemorated his pioneering work. On All Souls' Day, November 2, there was a great dedication service to which representatives from all parishes and missions were invited. Over 800 persons attended. Bishops and other distinguished Churchmen came from afar to preach at a series of special events. Several "pilgrimages" were scheduled.

At the same time the Re-Birth Campaign began. Under the general chairmanship of B. W. Cowperthwait, ten teams would visit parishioners to solicit contributions. Before the dinner inaugurating the drive, Bishop Keeler made clear how important this effort would be:

Bishop McElwain and Bishop Coadjutor Keeler, present for the great Rededication Service, 1934

The time is here when you determine whether the Cathedral in Faribault has a future — or only a past! ... Only as you vote generously with your dollars can we promise that this historic institution shall be more than a mausoleum![8]

Within the first two months, 461 pledges were made, totaling about $22,000 — over half of the goal. The local phase of the campaign had been relatively successful. But after that, little more was raised.

In a lengthy Annual Report for 1936, Dean-and-Rector Ward raised the question of the Cathedral's reason for being. He emphasized the missionary origins of the Church institutions in Faribault. He claimed that the various Church-related properties in town were currently worth $1.75 million. With one exception, he said, the Church was the town's largest employer. He saw the central question this way: "Has the time come

[8]*Daily News*, Nov. 1, 1934, pp. 10, 12.

when this huge missionary investment must be secularized and the mission of the Church dissipated — or are we not unalterably obligated to carry out the purposes of our missionary founder?"[29] After the Bishop moved to the Twin Cities, he said, the various institutions tended to go their own ways, forgetting their true purpose. "It has not always been realized that every servant of a Church institution, whether janitor, treasurer, teacher, warden, vestryman, rector, or trustee, is by that token a minister of Jesus Christ and of His Church ... " He did not blame the schools alone: "Just as many mistakes [have been] made in the Cathedral Parish ..."[30] A third of the Parish, he said, support its work and worship "fairly adequately"; another third "attend fitfully and support casually"; and the last third "do nothing whatever." Many, he said, have "a very defective philosophy of the Church, or perhaps a childish belief in Santa Claus."[31]

It is interesting that about this time Bishop Keeler described the Faribault congregation in an article in the magazine of the National Cathedral. Of course he wrote for a different audience and with a different purpose in mind — still, there is little to suggest that Mr. Ward and the Bishop were talking about the same people. Keeler claimed that the old Cathedral was beginning to experience "a new era of usefulness" and cited its work in rural missions. Then he described the congregation on an ordinary Sunday this way:

There are representative leaders in the business and social life of Faribault; the boys from Shattuck School attend in a body, as do the girls from St. Mary's Hall, and the students from St. James School for Younger Boys. ... No Cathedral congregation anywhere in this Church ... will present a fairer cross-section. ...[32]

The Bishop somehow failed to see that many at the Cathedral were *not* leading citizens — that many were average folk and some were quite poor.

Vesper Ward saw some hope for the Cathedral if the Chapter could be restructured so as to become truly diocesan in its representation — something it had never been. He did not propose that the entire administrative machinery of the Diocese move back to Faribault. He would have been happy if the Religious Education department and the Rural Missions program had returned.

Nothing happened. The Ward plan was an attempt at a "last hurrah," but it failed. Time had run out. The onus had been put on the Parish. The Re-Birth campaign, an almost entirely local effort, had failed to show that Faribault "deserved" its Cathedral status any longer.

Things looked a bit more hopeful at the beginning of 1936. Finally the debt was paid off. This called for a celebration. There would be a big turkey dinner for the Parish, each Vestryman donating a bird.

In 1937 the Cathedral budget allotted 87½ cents of every dollar for work in the Parish and only 12½ cents for missions. The debt at the beginning of the year was at $1000. The Dean-and-Rector's salary was now up to $3000, but he was paid at irregular intervals. Some who were still out of work pledged labor rather than money. As Dean Ward wrote in his annual report for 1936, "There is only one outrageously generous pledge. It is for $3.50 per Sunday, and the individual who makes it gets a lot of fun out of it." The general situation was worse by September, when the Vestry addressed a special letter to the congregation:

Fourteen hundred dollars *is a lot of money. It is a staggering amount if one owes it and has nothing with which to pay. This is the situation confronted by our parish treasurer. ... We are in critical need of CASH!*[33]

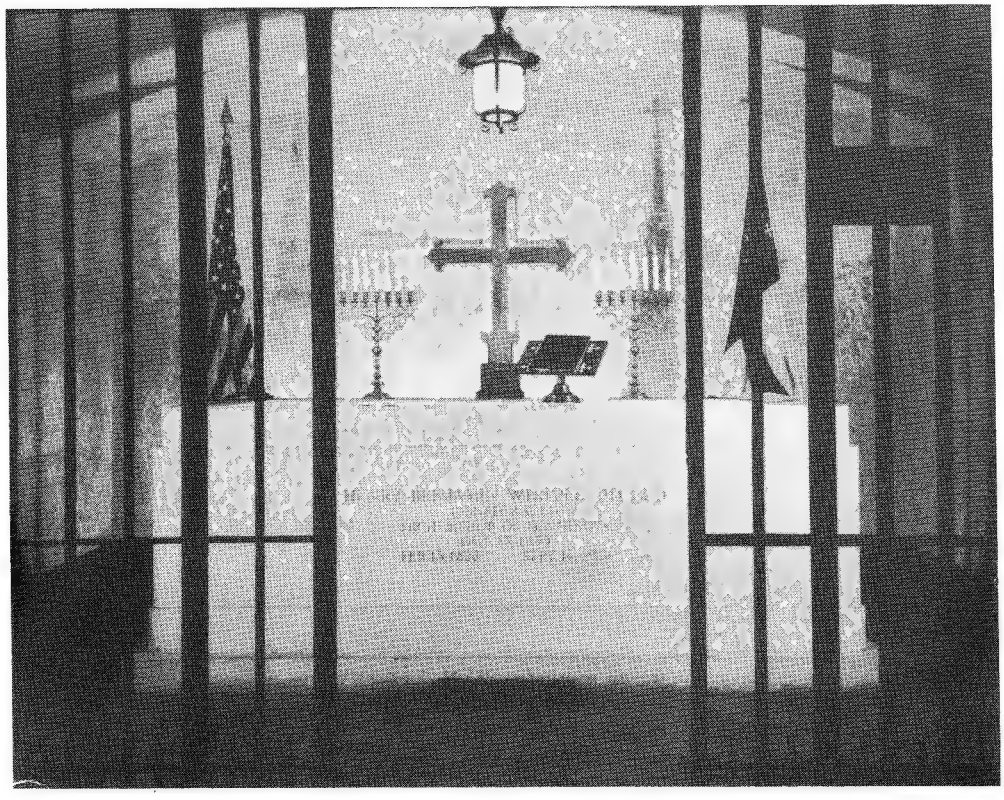
The picture of this period has been mostly grim. The fact that the Parish did manage to make it through such difficult times, however, was no mean achievement. If many seemed careless, yet many others continued, despite all discouragement, to say their prayers and do whatever they could to keep the Parish going. There *were* good times — particularly in the Guild, the Sunday School, and the youth groups. (Some of these are described at length in the appendix on the Guild House.)

Dean Ward — soon to be *Dr.* Ward — resigned in the fall of 1941. He would leave a significant mark on the American Church as a whole. Christian education had been his special interest in Faribault, and eventually he would become editor-in-chief of the

[29]*Chimes*, p. 2; no date is given — presumably it is the January issue.
[30]*Ibid.*
[31]*Ibid.*, p. 3.
[32]Stephen E. Keeler, "Minnesota's Missionary Cathedral," *The Cathedral Age*, Midsummer, 1935, p. 13.
[33]Letter dated Sept. 17, 1937.

"Seabury Series"[34] — a curriculum far ahead of its time, used in most Episcopal Sunday Schools in the '50s and '60s, though to a limited extent at the Cathedral.

"Bishop Whipple is dead," Keeler began in a sermon at the Faribault Cathedral. "*He died forty years ago!*"[35] The 1941 Convention determined that henceforth the Diocesan Church should be St. Mark's, Minneapolis.



The Bishop Whipple Crypt.

[34]Information from the Archives of the Episcopal Church.
[35]From a recollection by Edgar Pye, who received a letter about this sermon.

Splendor, dignity, and reverence marked the significant service. ... More than 1,000 seats in the chancel and nave were taken by those attending from all parts of the diocese, and a loud speaking system enabled several hundred more to hear the service in various rooms in the parish house. ... The colorful procession, headed by three trumpeters, entered to the hymn "God of Our Fathers."[1]

The procession included ecumenical delegates, a representative of the Mayor of Minneapolis and of the Governor of Minnesota, diocesan officials, and a bevy of bishops. It must have been a day of great satisfaction for Bishop Keeler who had been determined to move the Diocese out of what he perceived to have been a fading era into a time of new missionary opportunity. Still, he was sensitive to wounded Faribault pride. On the afternoon following the dedication of St. Mark's Cathedral, the new Chapter passed this resolution:

The act by which St. Mark's becomes the Cathedral Church of Minnesota does not mean that we will abandon the Cathedral in Faribault — the first Cathedral built for this purpose on American soil, and largely through the efforts of Henry Benjamin Whipple, the first bishop of Minnesota, and James Lloyd Breck, pioneer missionary. It will remain as it was dedicated "The Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour," an historic and spiritual shrine.[2]

November 12, 1941, was the day that St. Mark's Church, Minneapolis, was accepted as the Cathedral for the Diocese of Minnesota by Frank Arthur McElwain, Bishop of Minnesota. Charles Price Deems, Rector of the parish since 1934, was installed as Dean by Bishop Keeler. James Freeman, Rector of St. Mark's from 1909 to 1921 preached the sermon using the same text (Haggai II:7-9) that he had used when he preached at the dedication of the church in 1910. Dr. Freeman had been Rector of the parish during the years of its completion and furnishing. St. Mark's was an imposing Gothic edifice, the largest Episcopal church building in Minnesota. Bishop Keeler had been the Rector of St. Mark's during 1933-34, in the midst of the Great Depression.

The Constitution of the new corporation adopted in 1941 had named the parish "The Cathedral Church of St. Mark," and it was to be "the diocesan church belonging to clergy and laity, the official seat and spiritual home of the Bishop, and the center of diocesan work and worship." It was to be governed by the Chapter, a body made up of all the Bishops in the Diocese, the Dean of St. Mark's, three priests and three lay persons elected by the Diocesan Convention, three appointees of the Bishop, and the Wardens and Vestry elected by the congregation. For the practical purposes of the Cathedral congregation, an Executive Committee of the Chapter composed of the Bishop, Dean, Wardens, and Vestry was structured. Diocesan administration had long since been removed from Faribault and located in Minneapolis. Now at least symbolism agreed with that reality.

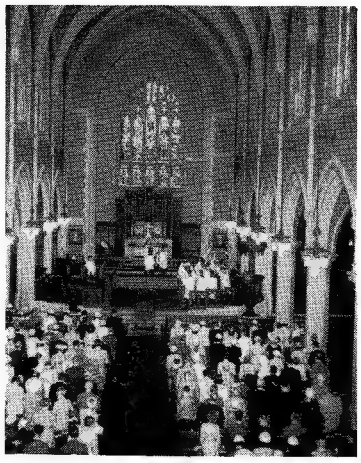
A NEW STATUS FOR THE FARIBAULT CATHEDRAL

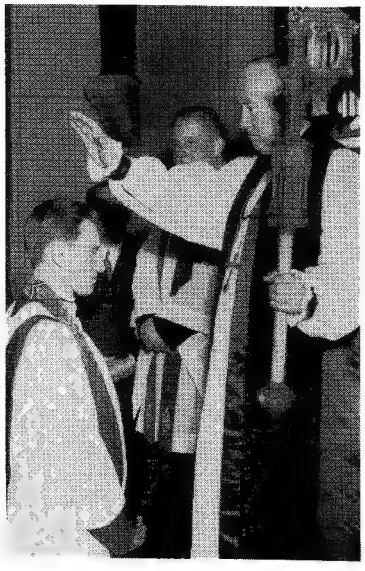
Bishop Keeler had proposed the change to the Convention in 1940. He did not, however, make this recommendation entirely on his own. He had been chairman of a committee to consider the status of the Faribault Cathedral. The committee, which included two representatives from Faribault — Leonard Elstad, the Senior Warden, and George Richard Kingham, long-time master at Shattuck School — had stood behind Keeler unanimously. Keeler believed that, apart from being the place of Bishop Whipple's tomb, the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour now had little value to the Diocese as a whole. He would have preferred that it be called "The Old Cathedral" — an appellation much resented in Faribault. Shattuck by now had stopped going to the Cathedral on Sundays. St. James was about to close — albeit temporarily. The Faribault congregation was barely able to maintain the Cathedral's decaying fabric. But St. Mark's was the leading Minneapolis parish, financially secure, ample and grand enough for important diocesan events.

Now that St. Mark's had become the Diocesan Church, the status of the Faribault Parish and Cathedral was in some doubt. The Constitution of 1906 had specifically

Chapter VIII

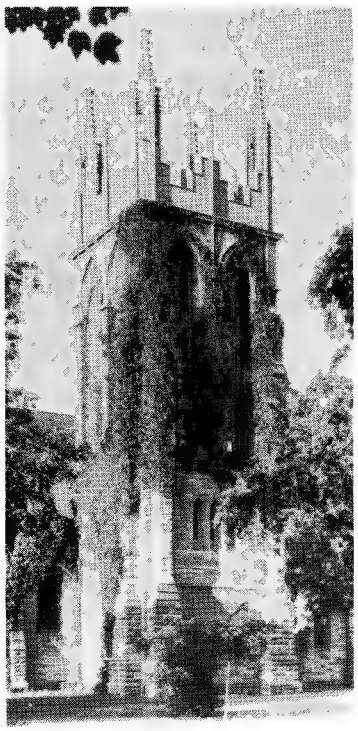
"APART FROM THE CENTER": *A* (BUT NOT *THE*) CATHEDRAL





Top: *Interior of St. Mark's Cathedral, Minneapolis.* Below: *Bishop Keeler instituting the Very Rev. Osborne Littleford as Dean of the Faribault Cathedral; Leonard Elstad, Senior Warden, is obscured by the Bishop's hand.*

[1] *Minnesota Missionary*, Dec., 1941, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.



The Cathedral tower in the 1940s, covered with ivy.

provided for the possibility that the Bishop might one day withdraw — and now, with the support of the Diocese, he had finally and officially done so. "The Bishop", technically, was still Frank McElwain, but his Coadjutor, Stephen Keeler, had been the prime mover.

The Bishop and the Chapter of St. Mark's had pledged that the Cathedral in Faribault would not be "abandoned" — but what in fact would be left?

First, the name: Because "the first cathedral in the American Church" had been established at Faribault, the Diocese agreed that the old title needed to be preserved. The Rector would still be known as "the Very Reverend" and "Dean"; the Vestry would be called "the Chapter." Yet, despite the impressive nomenclature, their true functions would be virtually identical with those of the rector and vestry of an ordinary parish. (The Bishop and the Chancellor of the Diocese would be members *ex officio*, of the Chapter but would take little or no active part in its deliberations.) In the process, the original name, The Parish of the Good Shepherd, would become redundant, continuing only as a legal fiction in connection with endowments.[3] The Cathedral would even be re-admitted to the Diocesan Convention as a *new* entity — as though 84 years of parish history did not exist. The Journal still lists the date as 1942.

Second, the building: Up to now the Cathedral itself had been owned by the Bishop Seabury Mission, and the Guild House by the Parish of the Good Shepherd. The Parish had repaired the Cathedral fabric from time to time, but before making structural changes it had always been necessary for the Parish to obtain permission from the Mission. Legal title to both properties would now be transferred to the new Chapter, once it had been chartered by the State Legislature.

Third, an annual maintenance fund: In consideration of the Faribault congregation's continuing financial difficulties and the growing expense of keeping up the old Cathedral edifice, a fixed sum was to be allocated by the Diocesan Convention. For three years the Cathedral received the annual amount of $900 — at least this item appeared in the budget.[4] Then diocesan aid stopped.

Fourth, a special relationship to the Bishop: To some extent the Faribault Cathedral would continue to be a "Bishop's Church" — *i.e.*, by right and without invitation, the Bishop might avail himself of the Cathedral's altar and pulpit. This preserved the status quo in one sense, but it also relegated the Cathedral to a kind of limbo, for it would now be *a* cathedral *"apart from* the spiritual home of the Bishop and the center of diocesan work and worship."[5] In practice, Bishops of Minnesota would visit the Faribault Cathedral annually for confirmation — as they would visit any parish church — and use it only infrequently for special occasions.

Fifth, a specific purpose: The Cathedral was designatd by the Convention as "a perpetual memorial and shrine" to Bishop Whipple. This, of course, would not be its *sole* reason for being. Nothing, however, was said about the Cathedral's having any particular *missionary* purpose. Perhaps that was simply implicit — or perhaps the idea of a cathedral had changed since the time of Whipple and Breck. Less than a decade earlier at the launching of the Re-Birth Campaign in 1934, Bishop Keeler had threatened that an unsuccessful fund drive might make the Cathedral "a mausoleum." Now, in effect, it had become that: "a *perpetual* memorial and shrine." Keeler would now complain bitterly about Faribault's preoccupation with the past — "Bishop Whipple is dead. ... *He died forty years ago!*" — yet it had been Keeler and the Convention of 1941 that had fixed the Cathedral's course. Just what the Cathedral was supposed to *do* to fulfill its new role was never spelled out, but if it was to become *more* that a shrine, the Episcopalians of Faribault would have to find their own sense of mission.

Bishop Keeler

To make the Rt. Rev. Stephen Edwards Keeler the villain of this story would be to over-simplify both the story and the man. To bring about harmony and give leadership in a diocese so large and diverse even in good times would have been a difficult task. Unlike St. Paul, he could not be "all things to all men." He was an urban man, with urban sensibilities — yet, paradoxically, some of his greatest successes were with rural missions. He was a practical man, and to his thinking — and taste — Minneapolis made better administrative sense than Faribault. As a Bishop he was firm, but not unfeeling.

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[3]This fact is reiterated ceremonially at every Annual Meeting: it is necessary that a brief meeting of the Parish of the Good Shepherd be convened and that a resolution be passed, making all decisions of the Cathedral likewise decisions of the Parish.

[4]The Cathedral treasurer has been unable to find this item in the financial records of the Parish, but in a general letter to the congregation dated Oct. 20, 1944, Dean Littleford said that $900 had been received "for the past four years." In any case, by 1945 whatever subsidy there had been was discontinued, and the Cathedral's diocesan apportionment was raised. All pledging members of the Parish were asked to raise their contributions by 20%.

[5]Proposed Constitution as drafted by the Committee on the status of the Faribault Cathedral and approved in principle by the Convention of 1942.

Born in New Canaan, Conn., in 1887, he held degrees from Yale and the General Theological Seminary. It was while he was rector of St. Chrysostom's Church, on the "Gold Coast" of Chicago, that he was elected Bishop Coadjutor of Minnesota, on April 15, 1931. He was consecrated there the following June. His first visit as a Bishop in Minnesota was at Grace Church, Wabasha, the first village Whipple had visited 72 years before. The Keelers moved into a rented house in Faribault — one of the town's "showplaces", the old Donald Grant place. He set up an office in the Guild House and administered his responsibilities from Faribault — for one year. Then he was called to serve as interim rector at St. Mark's, and the Keelers would never again live in Faribault.

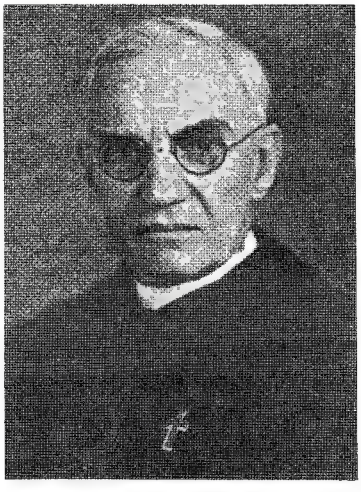
Bishop Keeler's vigorous episcopate focused on the financial crisis precipitated by the Great Depression. In 1928 the total income of the Diocese was $613,950. In 1933, it was $350,475. Some of the rural missions were closed under his administration, but rural work continued by the clustering of congregations, refurbishing some of the "Whipple Gothic" buildings, increasing self-support, and developing several innovative programs for pastoral leadership. In spite of a devastated rural economy and depression salaries, the percentage of confirmations in rural areas was larger than in city parishes. But Bishop Keeler saw a vision for the Diocese of Minnesota focused in Minneapolis. His office was located on Willow Street, near St. Mark's, until 1955. Then the large Tudor residence of George B. Lane was left by his widow to the Diocese as a bequest. It, too, was located near St. Mark's and until 1986 provided not only office, but much-needed meeting space. Within the Twin Cities, he established a mission for urban social work under the direction of the Rev. Walter W. B. Schroeder. In Rochester's medical center, he initiated a full-time Episcopal Chaplaincy. Among the Dakota people, he was adopted as a Chief. He was given the same honorary title that Whipple had enjoyed, Pa-ha-na-shos-ka ["Chief of the Long Hair"], despite the fact that he was nearly bald.[6] He tried to continue the Church's social and charitable work by cooperating with governmental programs.

At St. Mark's, Bishop Keeler earnestly tried to develop a new spiritual center for the Diocese. In the fall of 1942, a series of Dedication Services was held to recognize first the "War Chest, Community Fund, and Social Worker"; then St. Barnabas Hospital; and finally 1000 men of the United States Navy. During the ensuing winter, he initiated "The Cathedral School for the Bishop's Men." Approximately 50 laymen enrolled largely from the urban area to be trained to do specialized work in the Diocese's missions. Harold Roach and Joseph Boulet were trained from Faribault and would go out to serve the congregations at Dundas, Kenyon, and other nearby towns. Eventually "The Bishop's Men" became the "Lay Vicar Program", which would train older men for ordination as they served clusters of rural congregations.

From 1941 to 1944 the Diocese of Minnesota had two cathedrals. In 1944, a *third* was added when Minnesota and Duluth reunited. Trinity Cathedral, Duluth, began in its Chapter House in 1907, which served as a Pro-Cathedral until the church itself could be built. Located two blocks from the much-larger St. Paul's, it was never very strong; eventually it was closed and finally sold to a Lutheran congregation.

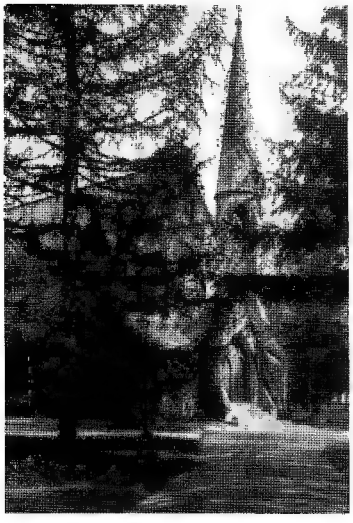
Strange to say, the last Bishop of Duluth never lived in Duluth. The Rt. Rev. Benjamin Tibbetts Kemerer maintained his office in St. Cloud. The Depression made the financial status of his diocese unsupportable, and in 1943 he proposed that reunion be studied. The resulting plan, favored by Minnesota, produced sharp and vocal division among Kemerer's constituency; but in January, 1944, Duluth and Minnesota were reunited. Kemerer became Suffragan Bishop, moved to Minneapolis, and died in 1960 at the age of 85.

Bishop Keeler's episcopate in Minnesota provided leadership in the Episcopal Church far beyond the boundaries of the Diocese. He was President of the Northwest Province from 1935-1939, Acting Bishop of North Dakota 1936-1937, Acting Bishop of Honolulu 1943-1944, Bishop for the Convocation of American Churches in Europe 1953-1956; and it was while serving congregations in Europe that he died, September 25, 1956, in Heidelberg, West Germany. Appropriately, he was buried near the cornerstone of St. Mark's Cathedral, Minneapolis. His marker lists the scope of his



Top: *The Rt. Rev. Stephen E. Keeler.* Below: *The Rev. Francis L. Palmer, D.D. — professor at Seabury, canon of the Cathedral, historiographer — who discovered several precedents for more than one cathedral in a diocese.*

[6]Whipple was even balder on top, but wore his hair almost shoulder-length on the sides. George Crooks explained that the old name was used for Keeler out of respect for Whipple — the name was not to be changed lightly.



The Shattuck Chapel in the 1940s — even the stone steeple was covered with ivy to the top.

episcopate, the highest tribute being that with the Diocese he was host to the Anglican Congress in 1954. Mrs. Keeler would continue to live in great seclusion in Minneapolis, each Diocesan Convention sending annual telegrams to her until her death.

In Faribault there were many who felt uncomfortable with Bishop Keeler and disliked his policies — particularly as they affected the Cathedral and its status. History, however, seems to have been kinder to him, and his stature has increased with the passing years.

THE SCHOOLS AND THE CATHEDRAL IN THE FORTIES

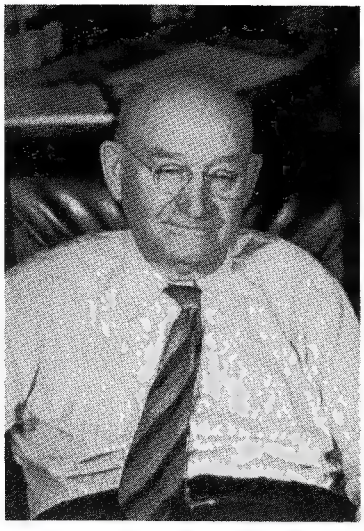
During the Depression, if not much earlier, the stage was set for Shattuck to sever its connection with the Cathedral. A new Rector and Headmaster took over the school in 1940 and made the decision. Apparently it was unilateral. The Rev. Donald Henning announced right away that the Shads would henceforth have all services in their own chapel.

Further light is shed upon this decision by two letters written by Dr. Henning in 1949 — only a few months before he would leave Shattuck. Former St. James Headmaster F.E. Jenkins had been looking through some old papers and found a document he thought Henning should know about. "Now when you read the enclosed," he wrote, "you will know where the authority to hold religious services on the campus came from." The document was almost certainly a memorandum written in 1874 by the Rev. Herman Wood, then Rector of the Parish and Assistant Minister of the Cathedral. It was addressed to the Cathedral Chapter, the "Vice President" [Warden?] of the Divinity School, the Rector of Shattuck, and the Rector of St. Mary's Hall. A committee had been appointed by the Chapter to "determine the relationship between the Church of the Good Shepherd, Faribault, and the authority having charge of the Cathedral." This memorandum was a report of the committee's conclusion. [Obviously some serious, probably protracted, dissension had prompted this investigation, and it may well represent a part of the larger controversy mentioned in Chapter IV — the history of "technical problems" which, according to A.E. Haven, "would make a volume."] Here is the conclusion:

"That no religious services can canonically be held in said city without the consent of the Rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd — and whereas it appeared no consent for holding religious services within the bounds [of] the Bishop Seabury Divinity School, Shattuck Grammar School & St. Mary's Hall had been placed on record, it is hereby declared that said consent is now given: 1st *to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour to arrange for the maintenance of services under the direction of the Bishop;* 2d *to the Vice President of the Seabury Divinity School to exercise pastoral jurisdiction over the divinity students in the same;* 3d *to the Rector of Shattuck Grammar School & The Rector of St. Mary's Hall to exercise pastoral jurisdiction in their respective schools over the students, teachers, families of teachers, servants & employees resident in the same.*
Given this 23d day of May A.D. 1874.[7]

The ruling is strange. First, the meaning of the phrase "the authority having charge of the Cathedral" is unclear. The most obvious meaning would seem to be the Bishop since the Cathedral was the *Bishop's* Church — especially in this early period. Why use seven words if one will serve? Or it might refer to the Assistant Minister — who was identical with the Rector of the Parish! Second, the ruling seems to make all of the other Church institutions in Faribault, including the Cathedral, "wholly-owned subsidiaries", as it were, of the Parish. It even seems to make the Rector, within the bounds of Faribault, superior to the Bishop. The memorandum is not addressed to the Bishop *as Bishop*, but only as Rector of St. Mary's. Third, the Shattuck Chapel had been consecrated less than two years before; in effect, the Bishop had built it, with Mrs. Shumway's money — yet, technically, it would seem that services had been held there illegally. [So far as is known, the Shads had not stopped going down to the Cathedral on Sundays and holy days.] Now, at last, consent has been given. But if the Rector of the Parish had that power, could he also withdraw consent? The 1906 Cathedral Constitution modified the arrangement considerably: it provided that one of the schools might discontinue attendance at the Cathedral with three months' notice and

[7] In the Tanner Papers, Diocese of Minnesota file, at the Minnesota Historical Society.



Above: *F.E. Jenkins, happily retired.* Left: *The Rev. Donald Henning, Rector of Shattuck School, with two cadets in his office.*

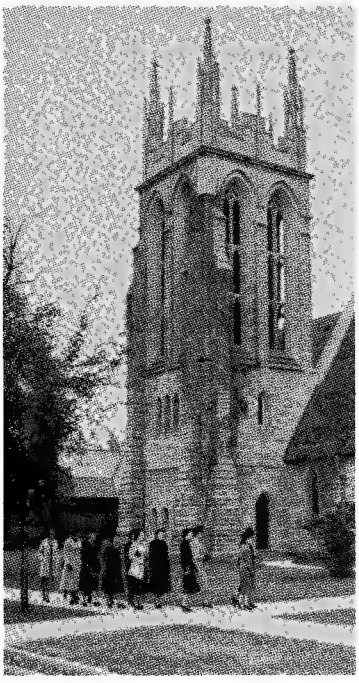
due consultation with the Chapter (which included the Bishop and the Dean-and-Rector). But did — *could* — the Cathedral Constitution supercede the 1874 memorandum? Or had Henning even complied with the Constitution's provisions? No record has been found of consultation, and in his letter to old Mr. Jenkins, Henning said, "You will remember that when I became the Rector of Shattuck I insisted that I would not only have pastoral jurisdiction over the cadets of Shattuck School, but would also have the School services in the School Chapel each Sunday instead of at the Cathedral."[8]

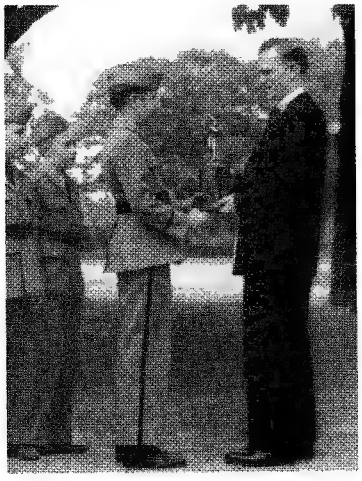
One might think that after nine years the matter had become a moot point — that Jenkins was just stirring up unnecessary trouble. Perhaps Henning was just humoring Jenkins when he wrote, "If I have broken a rule which was apparently set down in 1874, I think I ought to begin immediately to straighten matters out."[9] However, Henning did write Bishop Keeler:

The enclosed letter leads me to believe that I have overridden a usage clearly established through the due process of voting, in 1874. I'm certain that no one will ever raise the question, but if anyone should dig out the companions to this letter from the Cathedral archives or elsewhere, I think we ought to be prepared to have an answer. ...[10]

Understandably, the Cathedral was not pleased with Dr. Henning's decision. "It aroused no end of resentment," he told Jenkins. And so he issued another edict: "All Churchmen [*i.e.*, Episcopalians] on the Faculty, their families, and other employees of the School [will] henceforth regard the Cathedral as their parish." It sounds peremptory, but he simply wanted to encourage more staff members and their families to get involved with the Cathedral. Some, of course, had always been active — the Kinghams and the Cooleys are only the most obvious examples; others, however, had been using attendance at the Shattuck Chapel as a convenient alternative, one that did not require a financial commitment — at least that was Henning's opinion. And so he informed the Dean, and it became customary for Episcopalian members on the staff — and even some, unfortunately, who were *not* connected with the Church — to be included in the Cathedral's annual Every Member Canvass. As Henning wrote to Bishop Keeler, "... some of them squawked when they learned that they could not any longer play both ends against the middle." He added, "The whole matter has been pretty well settled by now" — nine years later![11]

[8]Letter to F.E. Jenkins, April 19, 1949.
[9]*Ibid.*
[10]Letter to the Rt. Rev. Stephen E. Keeler, April 19, 1949.
[11]*Ibid.*





Top: *St. Mary's seniors walking to the Cathedral in the '40s: chaperones were no longer required.* Below: *Prize Day at St. James with Marvin Horstman, its young Headmaster.*

The Cathedral both benefited and lost. It gained some staunch supporters from Shattuck, not only during the Henning years but also during the administrations of Dr. Goldsmith and Mr. Ayres — until about 1970. With the loss of the Shads the Cathedral lost revenue — and it was considerable. In some years their "pew rent" had amounted to ten percent of the budget. During the middle and late '30s, however, the relation had become more and more strained: seats would be reserved until the service began, and the Shads didn't show up — or they marched in late. It is interesting, perhaps, that the Vestry minutes in the fall of 1940 do not record unhappiness with the Henning decision — they make no allusion to it whatever, except "The matter of the prayer books defaced by Shattuck boys was discussed, but no action taken."[12] So ended Shattuck's seventy years at the Cathedral. It must be added, however, that the Church's — if not the Cathedral's — influence at Shattuck seems to have been stronger during the 1940s than it had been for some time.

It would probably be too simple to say that nothing at all changed in the relation between St. Mary's and the Cathedral during this period, but there were no outward and visible signs of change. The relation had probably always been friendly and intimate. Deans of the Cathedral *knew* the girls: not only was St. Mary's smaller and self-contained, but Deans conducted frequent weekday chapel services, sometimes taught Religion classes. (It is probably not insignificant that this connection with St. Mary's provided Deans with some extra income, for the salary paid by the Cathedral was often comparatively small. During this period one rector of a Minnesota parish, highly recommended by the Bishop for the deanship of the Cathedral, replied tartly that he didn't see why he should seriously consider a position that required more work and paid much less money!) Bishop Keeler was probably another important factor: he had a great interest in St. Mary's, visited it regularly, and by his influence — most notably with Isabella Turner Cooke — helped put St. Mary's back on a solid financial basis. There seems to have been a consistent and sacrificial example of devotion to the Church set by headmistresses and teachers over many years, and this must have had a cumulative effect. Finally, the Cathedral for a number of years provided a means of communication. When it became too expensive for the Hall to publish *Mollies' News,* the *Cathedral Chimes* offered space for a "Sun Dial" page, which included articles on the school and newsy items from and about alumnae and former faculty members. Hundreds of copies were mailed all over the country. This arrangement began in the '30s and it must have done much to promote mutual goodwill.

The relation with St. James School is the real success story, however, and much of the credit belongs to the Very Rev. Osborne Littleford, who succeeded Dean Ward in 1941. St. James closed in 1942 when F.E. Jenkins, its Headmaster since 1901, retired. In 1943 Dean Littleford learned that Jenkins, a part-owner, was interested in selling the school and, furthermore, that a group of Roman Catholics was interested in buying. He alerted Bishop Keeler, who agreed that something had to be done. Littleford was able to persuade the presidents of *both* Faribault banks, Roger Peavey and John Carlander, to help save St. James for the Episcopal Church. Meantime, the Bishop was able to raise some money and also to persuade Marvin Horstman, a teacher at Breck School (then in St. Paul), to work at St. James if it could be reopened. During the summer the main building was renovated, and the first classes of the new St. James Military School began in September, 1944, with Littleford as Headmaster and Chaplain. He says that he was Headmaster in a nominal sense — his name was printed on the school stationery and he ran business meetings; but most of the day-to-day responsibilities were in the hands of Mr. Horstman, who very soon was given the title. Cherished old traditions were kept but educational methods were modernized. Before long, the school had forty boys. From the days of Dr. Dobbin, St. James had enjoyed close ties with the Cathedral, but under its reorganization it became a "Direct Diocesan Episcopal School." The boys would attend the Sunday morning service, as in earlier times, but now they also had at least one weekly chapel on their own campus. (Indeed, for a while, with Dr. Henning and the Rev. Joseph M. McKee serving in the Armed Forces, Dean Littleford was Chaplain of Shattuck, as well as St. Mary's and St. James.)[13]

[12]Vestry Minutes, Nov. 6, 1940.
[13]Interview with Dr. Littleford.

YEARS OF RECOVERY

The Great Depression exacted a heavy price from the Cathedral. The departure of Shattuck had, among other things, hurt the congregation's pride. Near-loss of cathedral status now compounded the injury. World War II, only now beginning for Americans, would cast a shadow for several years. Once again the Cathedral's Senior Warden, Dr. C. Walter Rumpf, went off to war — this time with 115 others from the Parish — but not before he contributed $200 to help pay off the debt. Dean Ward left too, perhaps somewhat bitterly, having been refused a raise. In the end he received a call to sunnier California, and the Chapter began to look for "a cheaper man."

OSBORNE LITTLEFORD (1941-1946)

The new Dean brought his own sunshine. Osborne Littleford, 27, was an energetic and optimistic Canadian, new in the Diocese. When Bishop Keeler told Littleford that he planned to propose his name to the Chapter, Littleford protested — not because he feared the difficulties but because he considered himself too young. North of the border, a cathedral dean had to be "at least fifty." Keeler retorted, "We are *not* in Canada!" And so the *Daily News*' headline would read, "Youngest Dean in Oldest Cathedral."[14] Littleford soon became actively involved in civic affairs, and many in town called him "Ozzie." He loved to walk, and would stride down Central Avenue, shaking hands and inviting people to church. In 1944, attendance was up by an average of 35, despite the fact that over a hundred from the Cathedral were in the Armed Forces. Finances were tight, but the congregation made ends meet. Littleford organized the Parish office and hired a part-time secretary. (His study was in the basement, around the corner from the Crypt: "I always felt the old gentleman was right there!"[15]) Dean Littleford was able not only to hold his flock together, but also to generate some hope for the future — that was probably his lasting contribution. Several individuals still remember him as a caring pastor who helped people deal with the personal tragedies of war-time. In 1987 Dr. Littleford was living in Orlando, Fla., where he had served as Dean of St. Luke's Cathedral for many years. Retired from active ministry, he was enjoying a second career — as a psychologist.

CHARLES ALLEN (1946-1955)

Dean Littleford's successor was an older, quieter, more fatherly man. The Very Rev. Charles R. Allen served as Dean from 1946 to 1955, and his tenure was a period of rebuilding, both literally and figuratively. In 1948 the Guild of the Good Shepherd remodelled the kitchen at a cost of about $5,500. The next year the old slate roof of the Guild House was replaced with composition shingles. These were modest precursors of a much more ambitious building project, however — the reconstruction of the Guild House basement. That cost over $40,000, and so the Cathedral had to delay for three years its participation in the National Church's "Builders for Christ" appeal. Raising money, however, proved far easier than rebuilding the congregation. In Dean Allen's first year, Sunday School attendance was down, even though families were back together after the war. Church attendance was down too: some of those so eagerly welcomed by Dean Littleford left soon after he did. Pledges were in arrears. In his first annual report, Dean Allen was cautious: he could only say that he was "prayerfully optimistic." During his nine years in Faribault, however, there was little if any real numerical growth, though some inactive members began once more to participate. Dean Allen was especially effective with the Church schools.

The one great event of that era was the pilgrimage made by over 450 Anglican Congress delegates to the Cathedral on August 7, 1954. Heading the visit were two distinguished Church leaders — the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Fisher, and the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill. Also prominent on this proud day was the host of the ten-day Congress, the Rt. Rev. Stephen Edwards Keeler, Bishop of Minnesota. Many of the pilgrims wore native costumes, representing West Africa, Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Japan, and several other countries. The Cathedral was filled to overflowing and more than 300 listened to the service in Central Park, where a public-address

Top: *The Very Rev. Osborne Littleford.* Below: *The Very Rev. Charles Allen.*

[14]Not very many years later, the *Daily News* would use almost the same words for Dean MacNaughton, who was 28.
[15]Telephone interview.

Playing for the Anglican Congress

"I believe the most interesting service I ever had the privilege of playing for was the one held at the Cathedral in connection with the Anglican Congress that was meeting in Minneapolis. Delegates came from all over the world, many dressed in native garb. There were thirteen bus loads that went to Shattuck for lunch.

"Following the meal, word was sent to the Cathedral for Minnie White to play the chimes. As the buses were unloaded around the park, the people approached and entered the Cathedral. I played *God Save the Queen*. Everyone stood. The service was of a nice length, lovely in its simplicity. The Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the benediction. Then I again played the same tune I had used at the beginning, having in mind the words of our *America* ... but for some, the Queen was saved twice that day!"

— Mrs. Lester Nichols

Top: *Presiding Bishop Sherrill and Archbishop Fisher at the 1954 Pilgrimage.* Below: *Lord Fisher (*right, *white hat) greets choirboys; the Rev. Joseph M. McKee of Shattuck looks on.*

system had been installed. Before the service, delegates had been treated to lunch at Shattuck; afterwards they had tea at St. Mary's. In his sermon, Lord Fisher spoke both of the past and of the present challenge:

This century has been one of turmoil and revolution — men's minds have lost their accustomed anchors, and the more you look at the world, the more horrible it seems. ... The pioneer Christians held fast to three principles — utter devotion to Christ, a determination to build His church in the world, and refusal to use any weapons except those Christ used. We have only one weapon, the compulsion of truth.[16]

After the pilgrimage, Lady Fisher was heard to say, "Really, I think this has been the most meaningful and moving of all the Congress services I have attended."[17] Not since the General Convention of 1895 visited Faribault to honor Bishop Whipple's great work had there been such an occasion at the Cathedral.

Charles Allen wrote all manner of memoranda while he was Dean, some of which are wonderfully revealing of his personality. Taken without a grain of salt, his frank admissions might suggest a slightly disorganized man — things like *almost* forgetting to call to order the obligatory session of the Parish of the Good Shepherd at one Annual Meeting. Indeed, some of his annual reports were scrawled in pencil on the backs of mimeographed sheets. But taken altogether, the evidence suggests a purposeful and thoughtful man — and one with a sense of humor, as in this note:

December 28, 1954

The Sky Room
The Dayton Company
7th and Nicollet
Minneapolis 2, Minnesota

My Dear Miss Sky Room:

May I make a reservation for 14 of us for luncheon on Thursday, the 30th of June, at about 12:45 p.m.

Very truly yours,
Charles R. Allen
Dean of the Cathedral

One little legacy of his that has served well is a booklet on the history of the Cathedral. (Only the initials C.R.A. reveal his authorship.) It has been reprinted several times and is still given to visitors.

After he left Faribault, Mr. Allen served as rector of St. Mark's, Gastonia, N.C. In 1987 he was living in retirement in Kilmarnock, Va.

RUSSELL MURPHY (1956-1958)

When a minister stays with a congregation for only two years, it is unlikely that he or she will have a large and lasting influence, except perhaps in a few personal

[16] *Daily News*, Aug. 9, 1954, p. 2.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

relationships. This was probably true of Dean Allen's successor, the Very Rev. Russell E. Murphy. He was a down-to-earth man. One parishioner remembers that he "looked like a football player." Unlike many men of the cloth, he had grown up in a "rough neighborhood." He found his vocation late: before studying for the priesthood he had worked as a Y.M.C.A. director. He made no splashy successes while he was at the Cathedral, though his two years in Faribault may have been his happiest, according to his son, the rector of St. John's, Mankato.[18] Still, there must have been many small disappointments. The service record book gives one type of illustration: numerous times no one showed up for Wednesday morning Communion — but, faithful parson that he was, Russell Murphy would read the service as far as the rubrics allowed, then make his prayers in silence.

During his tenure, in 1957, there was a "Special Fund" to raise over $30,000 — $6,500 to refurbish the organ, $14,000 to pay off the deanery loan, and $10,000 to make good the Cathedral's share in the "Builders for Christ" campaign. ("Builders" provided capital funds and physical facilities for the National Church's expanding seminaries and its mission programs.) At the same time, the Cathedral and the older part of the Guild House were rewired, at a cost of about $4,000. John Parker and Harlan Hunt were co-chairmen of the Special Fund.

Dean Murphy seems to have worked quietly but methodically. He began a complete reorganization of the files "to try to track down the history of each member" — a formidable undertaking that he would not finish. He was able to bring several new families and individuals into the congregation, and some of these, like Paul Onkka and Bud and Jean Bird, became leaders in later years. He resigned in June, 1958, to become rector of St. Stephen's, Ferguson, Mo. He died in 1968. In 1987, Mrs. Murphy was still living in Kansas City.

JOHN H. MACNAUGHTON (1958-1966)

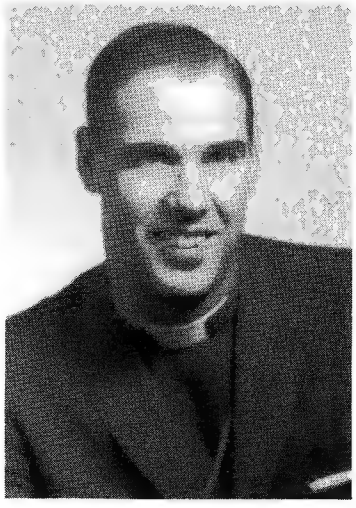
If statistics and activity are valid measures in the Kingdom of God, the Cathedral reached a peak during the tenure of Dean MacNaughton. Such outward and visible signs of success had not been seen since the early years of the century — perhaps since the days of Dr. Slattery.

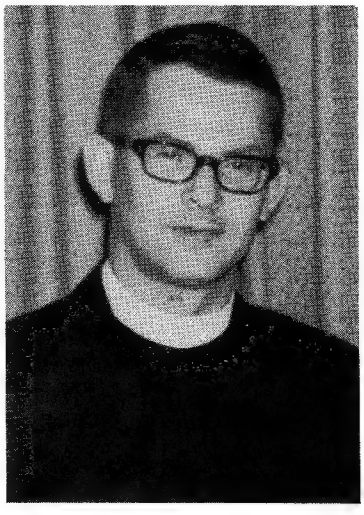
The Very Rev. John H. MacNaughton became Dean of the Cathedral on September 1, 1958 — just over a century after the founding of the Parish of the Good Shepherd. He was young — 28 — and had served for four years in Northern Minnesota, at International Falls and Warroad. A native of Duluth, he had graduated from the University of Minnesota and then gone to Bexley Hall in Ohio for seminary training.

He did not find conditions very promising when he arrived. After four months in Faribault he wrote in his first annual report: "The decline is real and alarming. The Cathedral has been a slowly shrinking church in a time ... when increased membership is the norm." However, Sunday attendance was up slightly, to an average of 398. (This included St. Mary's and St. James.) Not one to understate a problem *or* a success, MacNaughton was elated by the end of 1959: "We are a growing church! In the past year we have seen an increase of some *41* communicants and *34* baptized people. ..." The Men's Club had been revived and between twenty and thirty were involved in Herman Hormel's Sunday night youth fellowship. But despite the increase in membership, average church attendance was down inexplicably to 325. The task required more than a fine preacher and administrator. The Dean could not go to every home, and so he enlisted help from the six remaining members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

At this point it appeared that many in the congregation, unlike the Dean, were satisfied with the status quo. A questionnaire on what people "liked most" revealed these perceptions: the Cathedral could be proud of dignified services, good music and preaching, and "an active minister."

By 1961, the program of the Parish had grown to such an extent that a curate was necessary, and the Rev. Karl Bell, a new deacon just graduated from Seabury-Western, was appointed. (There had been no assistant at the Cathedral for twenty years.) Mr. Bell had responsibilities in visitation, youth work, and religious education; he was also





Top: *The Very Rev. Russell Murphy.* Middle: *The Very Rev. John H. MacNaughton.* Bottom: *The Rev. Karl Bell, Assistant Minister.*

[18]Telephone interview.

assistant chaplain at Shattuck, where he lived, and at St. James. During the summer he had charge of outreach to migrant cannery workers, a project that had begun in 1959. With a second clergyman on the staff, the Dean announced that an attempt would be made to visit every parishioner twice a year. This would still require help from lay-people, and so he developed what he called a "Pyramid plan," which involved not only calling but also a prayer network.

The Cathedral celebrated its Centennial in 1962, and in the commemorative booklet Dean MacNaughton set out ambitious plans concerning worship, stewardship, education, and evangelism. Now he spoke less about raw statistics and more about spiritual growth:

In our worship we aim at both the increasing regularity *of our people in public and private prayer before God, and at* relevancy, *presenting the Gospel in word and parish program so it will touch deeply the lives of the people to whom we minister. In our financial structure we aim at providing both the* opportunity *for our people to give of their substance gratefully in the service of our Lord, and a* budget, *a way of using these gifts that will reflect our determination to be the body of Christ, in every way possible in this present time. ...*

"An intensive effort, just now beginning" would coordinate the various programs of Christian education, not only for children and youth but also for adults. The evangelism program would involve "in-reach" rather than outreach, "in practical ways ... to our own inactive and uncommitted people."

So it is our purpose, under the inspiration and guidance of God the Holy Spirit, to be a church not ministered unto but ministering, to whomever we can reach and to whomever will respond.[19]

The Centennial Celebration was not so much a commemoration of the hundred-year-old Cathedral building as a reaffirmation of the present life and mission of the Episcopal community in Faribault. The festivities took place not on July 16, the anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone, but on Founder's Day, September 16, when as many former deans as possible could be gathered. (Anyway, the cornerstone itself could nowhere be found, and in 1987 it still had not been!) Four of the five living former deans participated: Frank Zoubek, Vesper Ward, Charles Allen, and Russell Murphy. (William C. Hengen had died in 1939.) A letter was read from Osborne Littleford. Other written greetings came from Dr. Paul Kramer of Seabury-Western, a long-time associate of the Cathedral and the son of F.F. Kramer, and from Alfred Hoyt Bill, a well-known novelist and the son of Edward Clark Bill. Special guests included Mrs. Frank McElwain, widow of the third Bishop of Minnesota, and Mrs. Stephen Keeler, widow of the fourth.

On the night before Founder's Day there was a gala banquet in Morgan Refectory at Shattuck. Dishes were named after the honored ex-deans who were present, and the program contained this disclaimer: "Any similarity between the dish and the Dean is the responsibility of the present Dean."

Five deans with Miss Beatrice Lindberg at the Centennial banquet — from left: *Frank Zoubek, Russell Murphy, John H. MacNaughton, Vesper Ward, Charles Allen. (Osborne Littleford was unable to attend the festivities.)*

[19]Centennial Booklet, pp. 27 & 28

MENU

ROAST SIRLOIN OF BEEF
Au Allen (surely this has no connection with his love for horses)
BAKED POTATOES
Served a la Murphy (like a good potatoe, no dinner is quite the same without Russ' hearty humor)
COMBINATION SALAD
with Vesper Ward dressing (surely his ministry has been the combination of both pastor and teacher)
ASSORTED TEA ROLLS
ZOUBEK APPLE PIE
(in honor of a man in the desert course of life, having given a full, substancial, spiritually nourishing main course to God in His Church)

The next morning the Cathedral was packed for the great anniversary service. It was broadcast on KDHL, the beginning of a radio ministry that would last for several years. The Rt. Rev. Philip F. McNairy, Suffragan Bishop, was the preacher and his sermon was not nostalgic:

Today it is not our purpose to bask in the memories of the golden past. As we worship in this impressive Centennial Service, it is fitting that we seek the answer to a very important question: How can this congregation of concerned persons in this community serve with relevance and spiritual power the vital present and the urgent tomorrow?[20]

Bishop McNairy did not directly answer the question. The Cathedral congregration would eventually have to find its own answer. Times certainly had changed during the

Bishop McNairy at the end of the Centennial Service, surrounded by acolytes.

[20]*Daily News*, Sept. 17, 1962, p. 1.

Richard Good, named "Outstanding Young Man" in the Diocese of Minnesota, 1960.

A Fireman, His Family, and the Cathedral

"Our days are filled with memories. We do not expect that they will be used in the book, but as three Lutherans who feel very warm about the Cathedral, we share them ...

"Dad talked often of his early years at the Cathedral. He started Sunday School at the age of three, and it's doubtful that he returned home 'Sunday clean,' as he used to slide down the wide railings at the Guild House. But his most often talked of recollection was as a child of seven: he saw all the Indians coming into Faribault and walking down the streets, heading for Bishop Whipple's funeral. It was frightening for one so young, who had no idea what this was all about ...

"Mom and Dad were married November 3, 1932, in the Deanery. Dean Hengen officiated at what was to have been a very private service. But as he neared the end, movements outside the windows caught his attention. Firemen had gathered and were waiting to shower the newlyweds with rice, and to follow this with a ride on the hose truck, under quilts taken directly out of mothballs.

"When fire destroyed the clocktower at Shattuck on October 18, 1943, Dad and Fred Achilles, both Cathedral members, were injured. Dad was struck by falling debris loosened when the heavy bells crashed through the floor. He was trapped in the tower. His arm was broken, and he suffered severe burns that required skin-grafting from his leg to his arm. He was hospitalized for two months and always carried the deep scars of that fire. Any service that combined the Cathedral and Shattuck brought back memories.

"As a family we often recalled the beautiful candlelight Christmas Eve celebration. In later years, when Dad could no longer attend, he missed them very much. The crisp snow crunched beneath our feet as we walked to the north door. Inside, it was a breathtaking sight. Somehow our voices always sounded their best on Christmas Eve. The church was so full that chairs had to be placed in the aisles — and the Fire Chief often found that his mind wandered: so many candles burning, such crowded conditions! For several years, when we were quite young, Dad had to move a sleeping daughter so that he could go up to the front for Christmas Communion. When the service ended, it was Christmas morning, and the smell of snuffed candles drifted through the Cathedral, blending with our closing prayers. Then it was back out into the chilling air, with the chimes ringing loudly, proclaiming the joys of Christmas ...

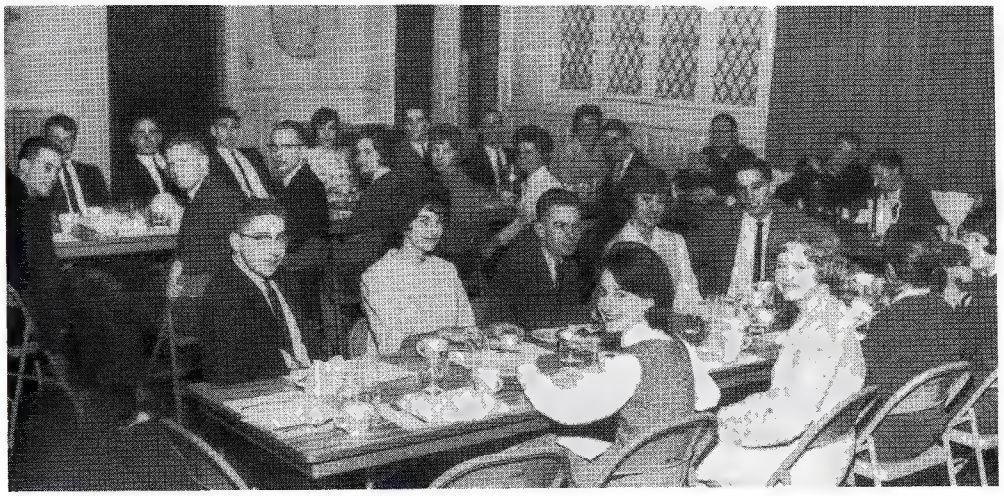
"Dad worked as a verger at the Cathedral in 1963 after retiring from the Fire Department. On November 22, 1963, at six o'clock in the evening, as bells echoed across the nation, Dad rang the great tolling bell for five minutes in tribute to the late President Kennedy.

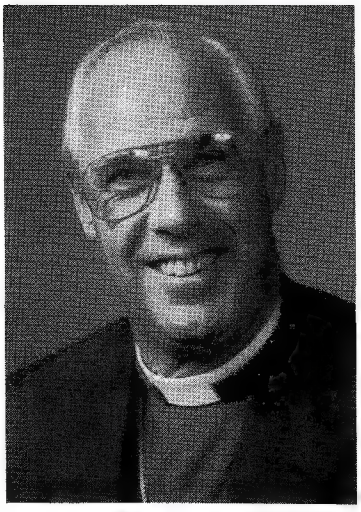
"Thank you for 'listening' as we shared some of our thoughts about the Cathedral ..."

— Mrs. Marven Morgan, Elaine, and Helen

Cathedral's first century, and the vision was now different from that of the founder. But in 1962 the work of the Parish was flourishing in most respects, and there were confident hopes for the future.

One optimistic-looking sign was the active involvement of youth. The Sunday School was thriving and there was talk of converting the "catacombs" under the Cathedral into classrooms. There were 45 in the confirmation class. Not only was the usual Sunday night youth group busy with various projects — there were also intensive "small groups" of teens who met early on weekday mornings to discuss personal problems frankly and to support one another. Three of the Cathedral's youth had recently been recognized for their leadership by the Diocese: Richard Good, Mary Kay





Left: *College-age dinner in the Guild House, 1963.* Above: *New Year's Eve dance, 1960.* Below: *The Rt. Rev. John H. MacNaughton, Bishop of West Texas.*

Lockwood, and Peter Deem, Jr. This was also a time when several young men were offering themselves for ministry in the Church — another apparent indication of spiritual well-being. Kelsey Batchelder had been ordained in 1959. Gerald Stading, a librarian, became an Episcopal monk in the Order of the Holy Cross. Richard Good served an "internship" in the National Church's youth program. William Swanberg had entered Virginia Seminary, but in 1961 contracted hepatitis in India while involved in an international studies program. His death had a major impact in the Parish and was felt in the Diocese. A scholarship was set up in his memory at the seminary.

Certainly not all aspects of the Cathedral's program were experiencing comparable success. Dean MacNaughton would later be known as an authority on stewardship training — he would write a book, and General Convention, following the recommendations of a committee he chaired, would endorse tithing as the ideal standard of giving for Episcopalians; and yet, during his tenure there would be no dramatic rise in regular contributions. (There were two rather notable exceptions: the Cathedral oversubscribed its goal by 17 percent in the 1965 diocesan capital funds drive, and it built a $1000 school facility that same year for a mission in Ovomboland, South West Africa.) The financial situation was more comfortable than it had been during much of the Cathedral's first hundred years, but the budget was still tight.

Probably the highlight of the MacNaughton years was the week-long preaching mission conducted by Bishop McNairy. His topic was "What Does It Mean to Be a Christian in 1965?" There had not been such an organized and concentrated evangelism effort in the Parish for at least thirty years. Dean MacNaughton claimed that "over 2000 people in seventy places all over the world" were praying daily for the mission's success. On the average, about three hundred attended each night. At the end, nearly a quarter pledged to adopt and follow a "rule of life" that included regular prayer and Bible study.

Many remember the personal side of Jack MacNaughton. He and Shirley had a large family, and one Sunday morning Leonard McDowell crawled out of the "secret door" of the organ facade and whispered to the Dean — who was distributing Communion — that, just minutes earlier, he had once more become a father. (The service concluded with unusual haste that day.) Some also remember the crook in the finger that the Dean used whenever he wanted to stress a point. (That minor deformity was the result of a baseball injury.) He used that finger a lot, for he preached in a rhetorical style, and his sermons were not ten-minute "homilies."

The MacNaughton era marked the end of a quarter-century of recovery. The Cathedral was apparently far healthier in 1966 than it had been in 1941, when St. Mark's became the Diocesan Church. But there is another reason for dividing the chapter at this point: the Episcopal Church was undergoing significant changes, and their impact would be felt in Faribault with some force. Dean MacNaughton was progressive in several ways — *e.g.*, his "small groups" approach to youth work was quite radical in the early '60s — but he was also a bit old-fashioned. He was young, vigorous,

Top: *Florence Mast, Latin teacher and Director of Studies at St. Mary's until 1966.* Below: *Margaret Robertson Mackall, former Headmistress, visiting St. Mary's in the mid-'70s.*

and enthusiastic, and though some of his ambitions for the Cathedral failed, he nevertheless awakened new life within the congregation. It was probably inevitable that he would be a bishop sooner or later. That singular honor and responsibility came to him in 1986 when he was elected by the Diocese of West Texas.

THE SCHOOLS: FROM WORLD WAR II INTO THE SIXTIES

These were years of relative prosperity for the schools — indeed, like the Cathedral, they would also be at their height during the late '50s and early '60s.

Shattuck, the largest and best-known of the three schools, was a source of some pride in the community. Not only had Donald Henning been featured in *Time* in 1940 when he became Headmaster; the school was also pictured in *Life* during the war. Such publicity reflected favorably upon Faribault and the Cathedral. After the Henning decision, Shattuck boys no longer marched down on Sunday mornings, but numerous faculty members were active in the life of the Parish, and feelings between the Cathedral and Shattuck grew fairly cordial once again. Both of the Headmasters of this period, Dr. Henning and the Rev. Sidney W. Goldsmith, were elected canons of the Cathedral. (This was common practice but not automatic.) Both were popular with townspeople. Both made a strong claim for the Church in the life of the school. Dr. Henning had a common touch: a former Roman Catholic from Toledo, he had worked his way through Kenyon College and served as a missionary in South Dakota. He had a zest for life, played the fiddle, and loved jazz. Dr. Goldsmith's background was that of the Eastern establishment, but his leadership in civic causes made many friends for Shattuck. Perhaps most noteworthy was his work with Martin Beneke in starting the Faribault United Way in 1956.

Especially in the Goldsmith years, Shattuck — and this was equally true of St. Mary's and St. James — had a strong Christian focus. In one sense, this was nothing new; but at Shattuck, for several decades, the religious emphasis had been perhaps more implicit than explicit. In 1955 it was spelled out: the school's mission was "to be an educational institution where Christian faith and living are *without apology* reflected in policy, practices, and persons."[21] Shattuck's philosophy was represented by a wheel with five spokes, at the hub of which was a cross. Ideally, every one of the five aspects of school life — studies, sports, social life, the military program, and religion — was to be informed by the example of Christ's sacrifice. The overall goal was to create a community way of life conducive to individual excellence and Christian character. The faculty's commitment to Christian living was seen to be crucial in such a school community — as was its example of proper etiquette.

Such a philosophy must have been in tune with the times, for briefly Shattuck topped three hundred — its largest enrollment ever. Two-man rooms became triples, and extra chairs had to be squeezed into the chapel and refectory. St. Mary's was likewise full much of the time, and St. James would soon begin a building program.

Undoubtedly a major factor in the three schools' success was faculty stability. During these years a large group of teachers and staff members had spent all or most of their professional lives at the schools. At Shattuck, a few could still trace their association back to the last years of Dr. Dobbin. Some of the younger members of this core group would continue to serve into the early 1970s.

Until the late 1960s, each school was largely a world of its own. St. Mary's had Sunday afternoon "calling" and Shattuck boys, by previous formal arrangement, were allowed to meet the girls under closely chaperoned conditions. After college, quite a number of Shads married their St. Mary's sweethearts. Occasionally a master from Shattuck would marry a teacher from St. Mary's — and one Headmistress even married the chairman of her Board of Trustees. It was a romance handled with the utmost discretion. Miss Margaret Robertson had come to St. Mary's in 1938 to be Assistant Headmistress. The first thing she learned when she arrived was that she would be running the Hall herself: Miss Caley had just died. Miss Robertson took on the challenge of leadership with alacrity and in the next nine years modernized the school and re-established its national reputation. Henry Mackall, a Minneapolis attorney and

[21] "Christian Community the Goal," *Shattuck Alumni News*, Fall, 1955, p. 27.

Left: *The three school heads in the late '50s* — from left: *Marvin Horstman (St. James), Martha Robbins (St. Mary's Hall), the Rev. Sidney W. Goldsmith (Shattuck).* Right: *Dr. Nuba Pletcher, longtime history teacher at Shattuck.*

Long-time Faculty Members

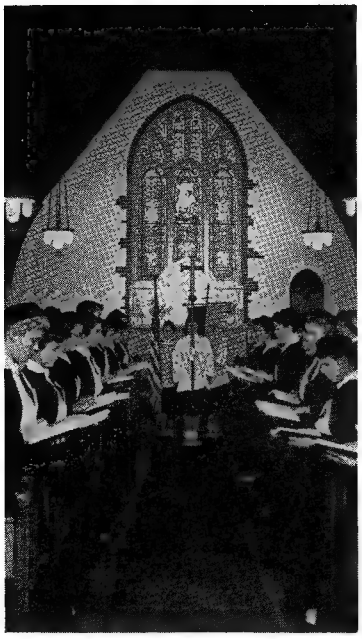
SHATTUCK
Nuba M. Pletcher, Ph.D., *History* (1908-1965); George Richard Kingham, *Science* (1909-1947); Herbert W. Rowse, *Mathematics* (1910-1945); John H. Wheeler, *French* (1914-1939); James M.L. Cooley, *French, Dean of Students* (1918-1957); Stephen A. Cocks, *Latin* (1918-1938); Lloyd C. Helsinger, *Mathematics, Athletic Director* (1918-1950); Earle M. Wagner, *English, Dramatics* (1921-1947); H.B. Drummond, *Assistant Headmaster* (1922-1936, 1939-1943); Reginald L. Kramer, *History* (1923-1933, 1943-1970); Frank H. Below, Jr., *English* (1924-1970); C. Walter Rumpf, M.D., *Physician* (1924-1972); John W. Wilhelms, Ph.D., *Latin* (1929-1933, 1943-1970); The Rev. Joseph M. McKee, *English, Chaplain, Director of Public Relations* (1935-1974); Donald B. Purrington (1935-1980) *Comptroller*, 1955-1978); Kenneth S. Agerter, *Science, Director of Admissions* (1941-1972); George B. Kedrowsky, *Science* (1947-1977); Gerald L. Kieffer, *Science, Director of Studies* (1947-1973).

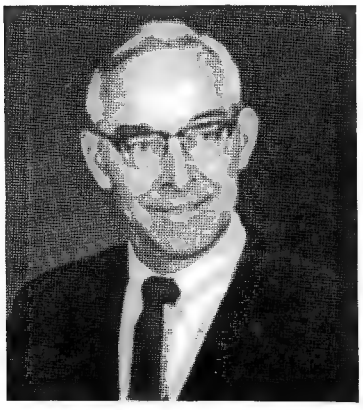
ST. MARYS
Alice Davis, *Primary Department, School Secretary & Historian* (1909-1945); Leah Morehouse, *History* (1923-1960); Olive Peltier, *Art* (1925-1955); Florence Mast, *Latin, Academic Head* (1930-1966); Genevieve Gilkes, *Financial Secretary* (1934-1943, 1948-1968); Marthena Drybread, *French & Spanish* (1935-1967); Margaret Patterson Below, *French & Latin* (1937-1943, 1953-1973); Eleanor Fuher, *School Nurse* (1937-1964); Marion Sheldon, *Science* (1945-1966).

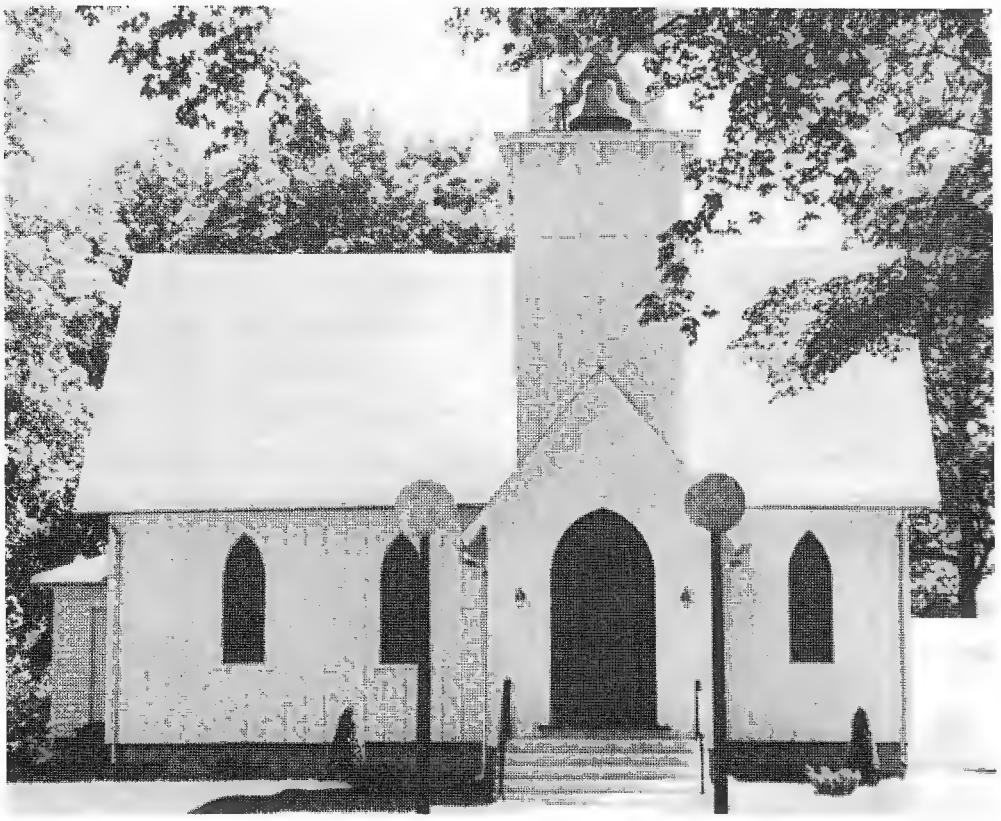
ST. JAMES
Mrs. Frederick Jenkins, *Teacher and Housemother* (1901-1934); William L. Cranston, Ph.D., *Junior Department & Assistant Headmaster* (1918-1942).[22]

chairman of the Board, found himself smitten by this extraordinary lady; and finally in 1947, "Mr. St. Mary's," as everyone called him, persuaded the Headmistress to marry him. She moved to Minneapolis, but they returned to the campus several times each year for special events. One year, when the school's financial picture looked bleak, the Mackalls, at their own expense, travelled across the nation raising money. Years later, Henry Mackall built Mackall Hall to provide private living quarters outside of the large main building for faculty members to use when not on duty. St. Mary's honored him uniquely by making him an honorary graduate.

[22]The authors are grateful to Mildred Marple, Archivist at Shattuck-St. Mary's, for compiling this list.







Above: *Recessional in Whipple Memorial Chapel, St. Mary's Hall, in the '50s.* Right: *The old Church of the Ascension, Kenyon, got a new lease on life as Jenkins Memorial Chapel at St. James.* Below: *Philip Zoubek, son of Dean Zoubek, for many years a member of the staff at St. James.*

Gracious living had always characterized St. Mary's, especially in the dining room, where all the niceties were observed. Everything had to be "just so," and a lot was expected of maids and other domestic staff. Flora Neumann remembers one headmistress who insisted upon perfectly-set tables. If the slightest thing was wrong, *everything* had to be done over.

Miss Phyllis Newman, who followed Margaret Robertson, was Headmistress until 1954, and Miss Martha Robbins was her successor until 1965. During these years the relationship between the school and Cathedral continued happily intact. Indeed, more than one Dean remarked that being chaplain of St. Mary's was about the nicest part of his job!

St. James, always relatively small, was enrolling over fifty boys by the late 1950s, and construction of Hull Hall in 1962 made a larger enrollment possible. The success of St. James during this period was due largely to the consecration of its Headmaster, Marvin W. Horstman. It is no exaggeration to say that he lived for the school. Sometimes applicants in the primary grades were accepted, and it was not unusual for Mr. Horstman to rock homesick lads to sleep. By the time of his death in 1967, the former proprietary school was nationally known for its work with junior boys. In the Upper Midwest a school of its quality had very little competition.

The relation between St. James and the Cathedral was still a strong one. The boys not only attended on Sundays; the Cathedral curate — first Mr. Bell, then the Rev. John Holmen, taught religion classes at the school and held at least one week-night service, usually at the Cathedral, until 1965, when the old Church of the Ascension was moved from Kenyon to the campus and renamed Jenkins Memorial Chapel. During the first years of Horstman's successor, the Rev. Allen F. Bray, III, involvement of St. James with the Cathedral would be even greater. Not only did Canon Bray take an active role in Cathedral services — he also encouraged his boys' participation in choir and scouting. It should be added that he transformed the school, making St. James, among other things, a pioneer in work with dyslexic students. Thus in the '60s, St. James was meeting a whole complex of junior boys' needs that few other schools in the nation were equipped for.

Top left: *Four new canons of the Cathedral with Dean Campbell* (center) — from left: *the Rev. Messrs. Lloyd C. Gesner (Headmaster of St. Mary's), Allen F. Bray III (Headmaster of St. James), Joseph M. McKee (Shattuck Chaplain), William P. Scheel (Associate Chaplain at Shattuck).* Top right: *The Very Rev. Ernest F. Campbell.*

YEARS OF CONFLICT AND RENEWAL

It is difficult to pin down the beginning of the period in the history of the Episcopal Church that brought about such major changes as a new Prayer Book and the ordination of women. The General Convention of 1967, however, seems like a good dividing point. During the previous year Churchpeople had taken sides in the Bishop Pike affair. The cover of *Time* had asked, "Is God Dead?" There was talk of a "new morality." The nation was mired ever deeper in Viet Nam. Major cities had experienced riots in their streets. The Church would have to confront social change. At the 1967 Convention, legislation was passed allowing women to be elected delegates, and lay men were authorized to administer the Communion Cup. The budget made a first official response to the urban crisis. And the Church faced up to the fact that its numbers were beginning to decline — baptisms were down almost 7%, confirmations 4.6%. All of these developments — and, doubtless, many more — proved to be omens of the 1970s and '80s.

ERNEST F. CAMPBELL (1967-1969)

Like Dean Murphy, the Very Rev. Ernest F. Campbell would be at the Cathedral only two years. He represented a new kind of priest in some ways, and he probably would have made a greater impact if he had stayed longer. He tried to introduce changes and was criticized, so it is not surprising that he accepted an attractive call to Walla Walla, Wash. (He was still there in 1987, in fact, about to retire from active ministry.)

"Ernie" had a crew-cut, but he was older than he looked. He had been, among other things, a wrestling coach and chaplain at Breck School and had directed diocesan youth programs and camps. He had an easy rapport with the teenagers of the Cathedral and

took a group of them on an expedition to Jackson Hole, Wyo., as well as on canoe trips to the Boundary Waters.

Dean Campbell had to work without a curate. He did not complain, but nevertheless noted the good work done by previous assistants: "Almost every week I have met someone who has a closer tie with the Cathedral because of the relationship they established (usually in a time of need) with Karl Bell or John Holmen."[23]

He tried to introduce several liturgical changes, to bring the Cathedral into the mainstream of what was happening in the Church, and he discovered how traditional his congregation was. (These are summarized in Appendix I, under *Worship.*) He was a deeply spiritual, even mystical man: *e.g.*, he would often begin Morning Prayer with long moments of silent reflection — "Let us meditate on the *serenity* and *beauty* of Almighty God." And yet his preaching was sometimes unconventional: he would stand on the chancel steps and read modern allegories and parables. Some in the Cathedral congregation, used to the eloquence of Dean MacNaughton, found the new sermons puzzling.

He also tried to change social attitudes. Two examples should suffice. In 1968, following the lead of the Bishop and Council, he proposed that the Cathedral Chapter endorse "Project Equality," an equal-opportunity minority employment program. The Chapter did so, but several members doubted that the Church should get mixed up in politics. He also made the headlines of the *Daily News.* He was shocked by the potential danger to children posed by the heavy traffic on Highway 65, right next to the White Sands swimming pool — and even more shocked by the apparently luke-warm response he got when he raised the issue with the town fathers. *"But what about tomorrow?"* he asked again and again. Another example of his community concern took the form of visits at Christmastime to the Faribault jail, as well as to nursing homes. The Junior Choir accompanied him, and for some of these children, half an hour "behind bars" must have been an enlightening experience.

Finally, two other developments, both characteristic of the period: Dean Campbell was instrumental in organizing Faribault's first ecumenical Good Friday service, in 1968. It involved five denominations and was held at the Cathedral. (He was active in the Ministerial Association and highly respected — even one ultra-fundamentalist cleric spoke well of him.) Second, as soon as women were authorized by General Convention to serve on vestries, Dean Campbell proposed that the Cathedral follow suit. Isabella Kiekenapp was the first woman elected to the Chapter, in 1968, and Helen Larsen was the first woman appointed clerk. Four years later, Mrs. Kiekenapp would be the first woman named Junior Warden. (Up to 1987, she was the only one — she served for two years before her death. Many women have served as Chapter members, however, and in 1987 women actually out-numbered the men.)

THOMAS D. HUGHES (1970-1974)

If the Very Rev. Thomas D. Hughes had been Dean at a different time, he might have experienced greater success, and his considerable gifts might have been appreciated more. It was a period of polarization and malaise throughout the Episcopal Church, and the Cathedral was not exempt. Some members of the Parish, previously very active, began to withdraw. Although their names remained on the roll, they came to services less and less often. After 1971, none of the schools attended on Sunday mornings. (Dean Hughes estimated that with the loss of St. Mary's in 1967, and now St. James, the Cathedral lost nearly $5,000 annually in contributions from students, faculty members, and parents.)[24] The Sunday School had shrunk — some parents let their children decide whether they wanted to participate — and "the old Sunday night youth group format [was] dead as a door-nail."

The Cursillo movement — an intensive weekend "short course" experience in "basic Christianity" first developed among Roman Catholics — had a major influence at the Cathedral, beginning in 1972. In Minnesota, Faribault was the first Episcopal parish outside of the Twin Cities to participate, and eventually several from the Cathedral

[23]Annual Report, 1967.
[24]Annual Report, 1972.

Bat Tales

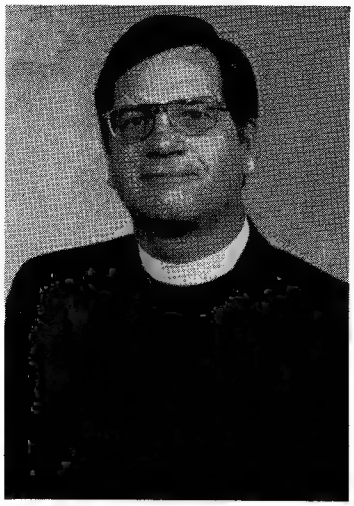
"I remember the Sunday morning when Betty Dusbabek reached down to the horizontal slot where service books were stored and let out a scream as she saw a bat sleeping on her hymnal. Someone found a paper tube, caught the bat, and carried it outdoors.

"I also recall one Sunday morning service when Dean Campbell was preaching from the steps. Suddenly, a bat began flying overhead, and the heads of people in the congregation were moving in a wave pattern in accordance with the movements of the bat. However, Ernie kept his cool and even managed to use the bat's extraordinary system as an excellent illustration in his sermon. I was so taken with the illustration that I missed seeing an acolyte strike the bat with a hymnal.

"I also recall the sermon by a visiting supply priest when a bat flew overhead. However, this preacher ran for cover. A person near the back of the church used his coat as a net and caught the bat.

"In 1983 there was a group from Minneapolis visiting the Cathedral. I was the tour guide for this occasion. As we were in the tunnel-like hall leading to the tomb of Bishop Whipple, a bat flew overhead. There was only a few feet of airspace between our heads and the ceiling. Suddenly I felt someone's head under my arm. Nearly everyone was ducking low, but one man stood tall, and with a wide grin on his face said, 'O, *great* — now I feel like I'm in an English Cathedral! That bat has made my day.' "

—Don Wafler



The Very Rev. Thomas D. Hughes.

took on leadership roles in the diocesan program. It seems fair to say that many found in Cursillo, and in the fellowship that developed from it, a whole new lease on the Christian life; but that some, fearful that the approach was too emotional (or undignified or divisive), seriously questioned whether such a movement was appropriate in an Episcopal church. There is no doubt that some members of the Cathedral were engaging in practices not generally associated with Episcopalians — like early-morning prayer and Bible study groups. (Some of these groups were still meeting regularly in 1987 — fifteen years later — though their activities were so quiet that perhaps many in the Parish were unaware of their existence.) Eventually the controversy and alienation would dissipate, and Cursillo would win acceptance in the Parish, but it would take several years.

If the emphasis of Cursillo tended to focus inward, it did not spell the end of outreach. Members of the Cathedral were instrumental in starting a chapter of FISH, and soon nearly fifty volunteers from various denominations were providing much-needed services, especially to the home-bound and the disabled. Another example was the group that Jan Batchelder organized to read to geriatric patients at St. Lucas. (There were eleven volunteers, each reading once or twice a month.) Dean Hughes also began to schedule more frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion at St. Lucas and local nursing homes. In 1973 the Sunday morning radio broadcast was discontinued, but Gil Truax and others taped sermons to distribute among those unable to attend services.

Dean Hughes showed a great interest in the Cathedral's history and in the preservation of the building and its artifacts. One major project was the complete cleaning and oiling of the great Cathedral beams, as well as the pews, in 1970 — a job that had not been done since the church was completed, 101 years before. Many pieces of memorabilia were collected, identified, and displayed. He wrote a major article on the Cathedral's history for *Cathedral Age*, the national magazine of Washington Cathedral. With his encouragement, Barbara Meyer and Sharon Anderson compiled a detailed handbook for tour-guides, and a group of guides was trained. Their services would be much in demand.

Top left: *Frances Wassman, one of several Cathedral guides.* Right: *George Parkos, Cathedral Verger, and Bucky Roosmalen looking at the consecration certificate of Samuel Seabury, first Protestant Episcopal bishop in the United States. The cases, located in the passage leading to the Crypt, were built by Roosmalen to display items of historical interest gathered during Dean Hughes' tenure.*

Epiphany Tradition

One of our oldest traditions has little religious significance, even though it is observed in connection with the feast of the Epiphany. The custom of the Epiphany Queen was introduced by Dr. Breck, the founder of the Parish. It has changed somewhat over the years, however.

Originally the Epiphany Queen was chosen (if that's the right word) at an annual Twelfth Night party given by the Rector for members of the Vestry, the clergy associated with the schools, and their wives. At the end of the evening all of the wives would be given a piece of fruit cake, and the one who got the slice containing a gold ring would reign as Epiphany Queen for the ensuing year. Her duties were hardly onerous: "to rule over the Parish, settling disagreements and disputes of a social character, and looking out generally for the happiness of her subjects."* The original ring was used until 1879; then because it had worn thin, Mrs. Gordon Cole, the queen that year, had it melted down, added new gold of her own, and had it remade. The ring was lost in the middle 1980s, and now a silver ring has replaced it. But that is not the only change. The Epiphany party is no longer for only a small group. In 1924 the time of the Annual Meeting of the Parish was changed from Easter Monday to early January — and for many years men have participated in the lottery. Everyone now eats a piece, and the recipient of the ring provides the next year's cake. Another old Epiphany custom, religiously observed in the early days of the Parish, has disappeared completely: the Christmas greens are no longer burned on Twelfth Night *to keep the witches away!*

*Democrat, Jan. 8, 1908, p. 3.

Dean Hughes' five years in Faribault were difficult years. In his first annual report, in 1970, he wrote: "I believe with all my heart that this Cathedral can kindle a new fire. We are down but not out." Often his faith in the future must have been tested, but it turned out to be prophetic. Mr. Hughes left Faribault to become rector of St. Paul's Church, Minneapolis. While the Cathedral was without a dean, the Rev. David Upton of the Bishop Whipple Schools conducted services. In January, 1975, Michael Relyea, a son of the Parish, was ordained at the Cathedral. He would serve in New York City.

DANIEL SWENSON (1975-1978)

"The essential question is, 'Where, and how, is the Lord Jesus Christ leading us?' " — so wrote the Very Rev. Daniel Swenson in his first annual report, in January 1976. He referred to a survey taken before he had accepted the call to be Dean: the congregation was divided in two, many had "dropped out," and lay leaders felt a need for greater clergy support. Dean Swenson disagreed with the finding about a congregation divided in two: he saw *five* congregations in the Parish: a small "tradition-centered core group" and a small "contemporary-minded core group," both of which insisted on having their own way; a "middle-of-the-road group" of people with preferences, but willing to compromise; a group of once-active people who had been "turned-off" for a variety of reasons; and a group of people interested only in "using" the Cathedral for weddings, funerals, etc. His mission, he announced, was to find a way to minister *equally* to all of these groups. It was an impossible task, for some had no desire at all to be ministered unto. Sunday church attendance by 1975 was down to an average of 128 — less than a third of what it had been in 1958. (With St. Mary's and St. James subtracted, the adjusted Cathedral figure would still have been over 300 in 1958, for the schools would have come only about thirty Sundays during the year.) Dean Swenson believed that "healing" was taking place, even if statistics did not offer much corroboration. He did not stay in his office — he went out where the people were, and for 1976 alone he reported driving 27,800 miles in parish and other Church business.

One of the lasting successes of his tenure was his work with lay-readers. Nine candidates — not counting Donald S. Wafler and Frank White, who were already licensed — offered themselves for an extensive course following *The Church's Teaching Series.* Most of those lay-readers were still active in 1987.

Many remember Dan Swenson not only as a strong and gentle priest but also as a slightly whimsical and home-spun (yet very well-read) philosopher, as likely to appear in a plaid logger's shirt as in a clerical outfit. He was not the product of a seminary — like several others in Minnesota he "read for orders" while pursuing a secular career. Not all who followed that route were as successful, but a man like Dan Swenson proved the wisdom of Keeler's "Lay Vicar" program. He seems not to have been ambitious in the ministry — he took what came. What came in 1986 was a call to become Bishop of Vermont. He was "old-fashioned" enough to believe it was God's call.

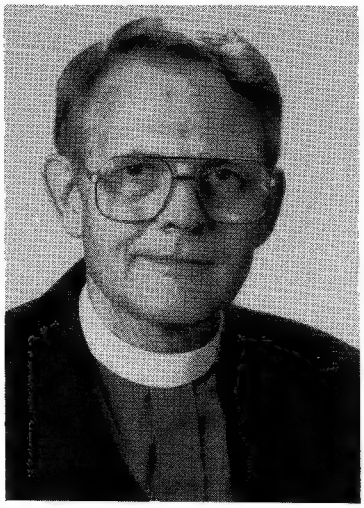
DONALD S. WAFLER, DEACON (1979-)

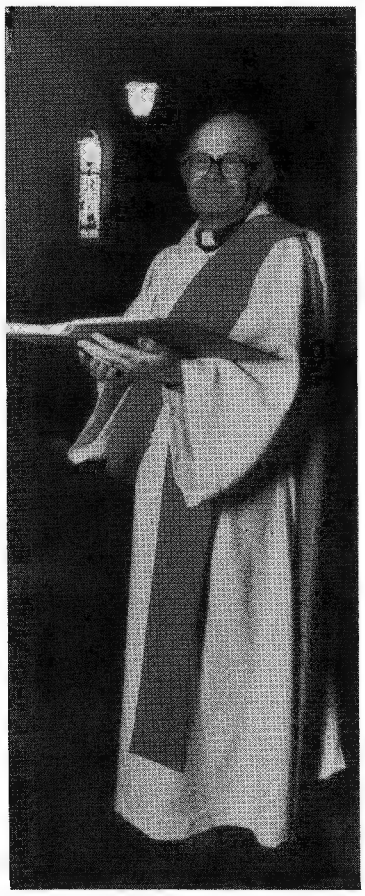
On January 29, 1979, Donald S. Wafler was ordained a deacon — the first permanent deacon in the history of the Cathedral. The service took place after Dean Swenson's departure and before Dean Winkler's arrival — and it was Dean Hughes who had persuaded Mr. Wafler to prepare for this ministry.

The diaconate, an ordained ministry that focuses upon service and servanthood, finds its roots in the New Testament and has always been in the Church; but for hundreds of years it was normally treated as an insignificant stepping-stone to priesthood. Only in the late 1960s and early '70s were its ancient dignity and usefulness rediscovered.

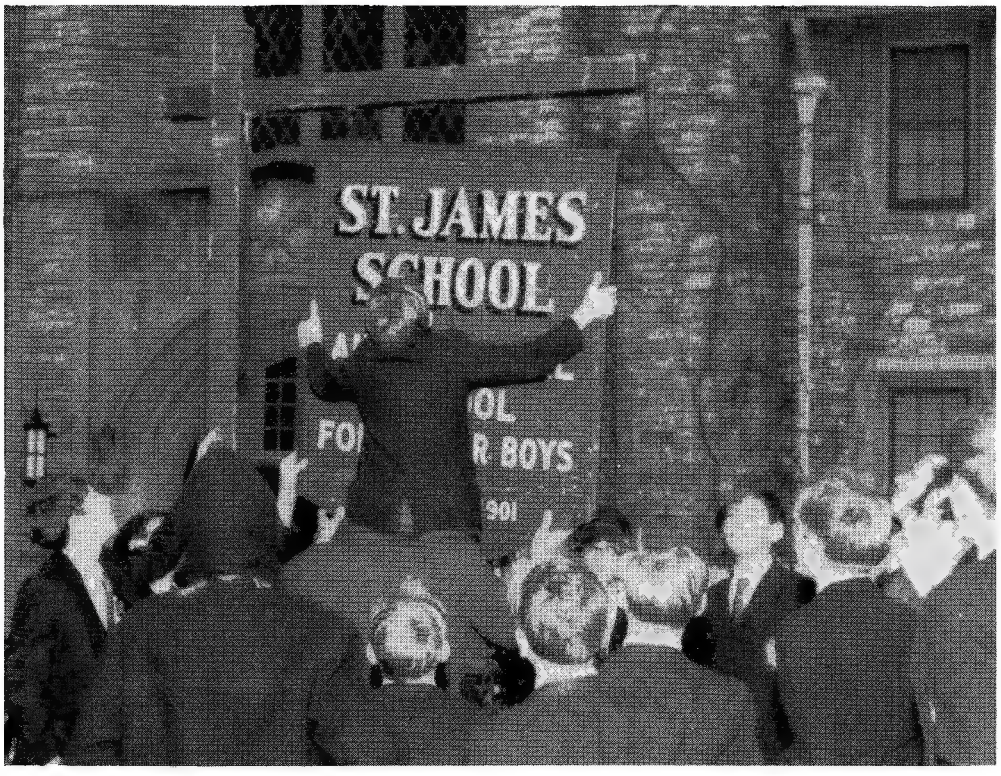
Don had been involved in the Cathedral for well over twenty years, as a stalwart in the choir, as a lay-reader, as Junior and Senior Warden. Recently he had retired from directing special education programs in Rice County. As Bishop Robert M. Anderson remarked, this was not the beginning of a new ministry — it was an affirmation of what Don had been doing unofficially for years. The Cathedral had had curates and other assistant ministers from time to time; but now ordained assistant ministry took on a new meaning, because one had been raised up from within the congregation. The Rev. Mr. Wafler would perform many specific duties — pastoral and liturgical responsibilities, preaching, liaison work among the other deacons in the Diocese, occasional services in churches of other denominations — but his primary role in the congregation was to serve as a kind of living model of the servanthood that should characterize all Christians.

In 1987, Paul and Marcia Onkka, were also studying for the diaconate.





Top: *The Rt. Rev. Daniel Swenson, Bishop of Vermont.* Below: *The Rev. Donald S. Wafler, ordained deacon in 1979.*



St. James boys install their sign outside Whipple Hall at Shattuck, November, 1971.

THE SCHOOLS BECOME ONE, AND IT GOES ITS OWN WAY

The movement that brought the three schools together was gradual but seemingly inexorable. Economics played a large part, but so did changes in American society. The earliest attempts at cooperation were cautious. In 1965, C. Burgess Ayres, then Headmaster of Shattuck, spoke of the need for a "more meaningful relationship" with St. Mary's. The occasion was a dinner at which faculty members and students from both schools exchanged ideas for joint activities. The next year St. Mary's got its first Headmaster, the Rev. Lloyd C. Gesner. Not only did he encourage St. Mary's to strengthen its own identity — *e.g.*, by starting its own newspaper; he also insisted that cooperation with Shattuck be on an *equal* basis — a condition that some of the Shads found hard to adjust to![25] The Rev. Robert L. Curry succeeded Mr. Ayres in 1970, and soon there were coeducational classes on both campuses, made possible by busing.

After a surprise announcement by Bishop McNairy in late October, 1971, that the Boards of the three schools were about to form an "umbrella corporation," St. James immediately moved to the Shattuck campus. The Bishop promised that each of the schools would retain its own identity and traditions, though together they would be known as the Bishop Whipple Schools — "three in one and one in three."[26] Mr. Gesner would go on sabbatical in Canada and Mr. Bray would become Vice Rector — but soon the latter would succeed Dr. Curry, who had to give up the Headmastership after heart surgery.

Some lean years followed. The early and mid '70s were a time when independent schools and the way of life they represented were questioned across the country. A number of old, established schools were forced to close, and many avoided that fate by merging with other schools. It is still unclear how near the Bishop Whipple Schools may have come to closing. Faculty and staff had to be cut, especially in 1972. It was only in the late '70s and early '80s that total enrollment reached about 200 once more. Often St. Mary's was considerably closer to full capacity than Shattuck was. Generous contributions from alumni and alumnae were crucial to keeping the schools open, as was aid from foundations. The largest gift was a uni-trust from Old Shad Homer T. Hirst of San Francisco valued at $2.1 million, but several other large bequests were received as well. Replenishing and enlarging the endowment became a major priority.

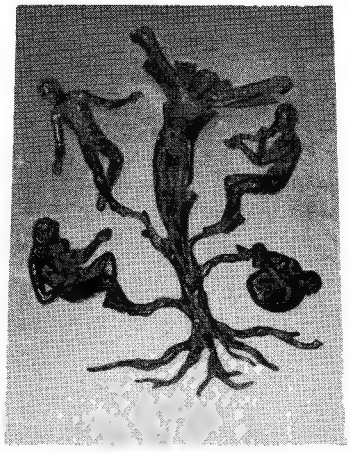
[25]The *Spectator* did not have girls in any positions of leadership until several years later, the first girl editor was in 1982.
[26]The phrase *umbrella corporation* caused considerable mirth. Soon there was a faculty singing group named "The New Umbrella Singers" and a school publication entitled "The Whole Umbrella Catalog: Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Shattuck/St. Mary's/St. James But Were Afraid to Ask." The phrase *three in one and one in three* led to a spoof on the Athanasian Creed in the *Spectator*.

In 1971, the schools' relationship with the Cathedral ceased. The Saints had stopped going on Sundays soon after Mr. Gesner's arrival. The Jamies, however, had continued to attend — indeed in 1970 there had been signs of increasing involvement. But, beginning in 1971, the students of all three schools had joint Sunday services in the Shattuck Chapel — and to emphasize the idea of community, faculty members were expected to attend there as well. Thus the faculty role in the Parish, encouraged by Dr. Henning thirty years earlier, came to a sudden end. By 1987, that situation had not substantially changed.

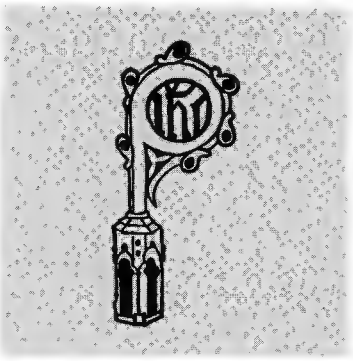
Spiritually, the schools were becoming quite different from what they had been. During this period, most of the "old guard" retired. Many, if not most, of the long-time faculty members had Episcopalian connections; most of their replacements came from other religious traditions — some from none. Though clergy from the schools occasionally helped out with services at the Cathedral, a period of isolation was developing.

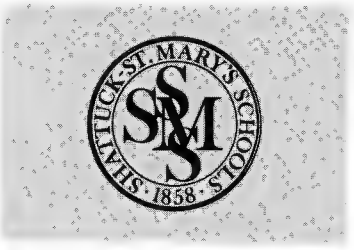
Shattuck's military heritage — well over a century old — came to an end in 1974. Groups of students had actively demonstrated against it as early as 1969, when opposition to the Viet Nam War was at a peak. Significantly, two protests, both peaceful, took place in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd. Though some were distressed that the chapel was used in this way, it was also clear that the students saw it as an important symbolic gathering-place, for the demonstrators treated it with reverence, even during an all-night sit-in. Discipline in the military program deteriorated, however, and in 1972 the school lost its honor rating. An experiment with an Air Force program proved no more successful. It was a period of strife, involving not only students but alumni as well. (One year the editor of the *Spectator* waged a campaign against the military while his father, an intensely loyal Old Shad, sent in letters to be published in its defense.) By 1987 the wounds had not entirely healed, but at Commencement a gesture of reconciliation was made: a memorial was placed in the porch of the chapel, next to the shrine honoring alumni who died in both World Wars. The new sculpture by Paul Granlund — a strikingly modern element in a very traditional setting — represents resurrection. The memorial honors those who gave their lives in the era that included both Korea and Viet Nam. The military was so long at the heart of Shattuck that its departure left something of a vacuum, and a substitute has not yet taken its place.

Many feared that after the military fell, mandatory chapel would be next. That did not happen. The short daily services at Shattuck were discontinued in 1964 — but two longer week-day services, taking up the same total amount of time, replaced them! Greater variety was introduced in the 1970s and '80s, but worship based on the Prayer Book continued to be the norm. Indeed, in one respect the religion requirement increased, for in the 1960s courses in the Bible had not been part of the academic curriculum. It is probably fair to say that in 1987 the Church no longer exerted the strong influence that it once had — with students coming from increasingly secular



Above: *Sculpture by Paul Granlund in honor of recent military dead. The body of Christ is represented in a reverse image — like a cocoon broken open — symbolizing new life.* Bottom: *The Rev. James G. Birney, Chaplain, and Mrs. ("Biz") Birney — a team in life and ministry.*





Emblems of change — top: *the Whipple crosier, symbol of the Bishop Whipple Schools; the Shattuck-St. Mary's logo, 1983-1986; the new Shattuck-St. Mary's logo 1987-.*

backgrounds, the Christian faith had to *earn* credibility. No signs, however, suggested that chapel would be abandoned soon.

Finally, in name as in fact, the school became one in 1984. The cumbersome name *The Bishop Whipple Schools: Shattuck/St. Mary's/St. James* never did catch on. Separate identities — a pious hope in 1971 — did not survive, and in the early 1980s the name of St. James was dropped, though there continued to be a middle school. In 1984 the ambiguous *s* was dropped from the end of *Shattuck-St. Mary's Schools*, and St. Mary's Hall became, in effect, a dormitory. Yet some of its separate traditions were kept alive, thanks in large part to Dorothy Lang, long-time mathematics teacher and a much-loved former Dean of St. Mary's. In the spring of 1987, however, it was announced that within a year-and-a-half the girls would take up residence on the Shattuck campus.

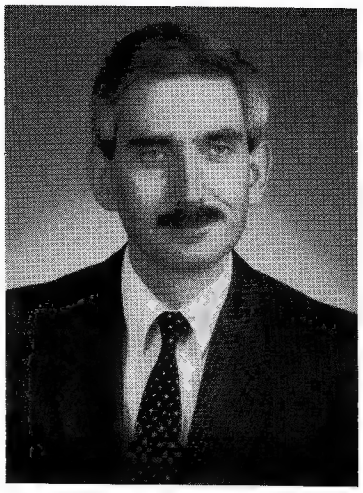
Two images of change may suggest the diversity that developed after the Goldsmith years. Tony Jenkins came to Shattuck in the late '60s as one of the first participants in "ABC," a national program that helped place minority students in independent schools. Racial diversity was encouraged by Mr. Ayres; international diversity, already present to some degree, developed further under Dr. E. John Dyer (1974-1980) and was championed by Mr. John Hyslop (1981-1986). In 1986, Tony Jenkins was elected to the Board of Trustees. A second image of change was the new Headmaster, whose tenure began in the fall of 1986: Jarek Garlinski, an Englishman and a Roman Catholic, had for more than a decade taught at Eton College, one of the great British schools that Bishop Whipple hoped to pattern Shattuck after. Considering the attitude of both Breck and Whipple towards Roman schools, the appointment of Mr. Garlinski was indeed a departure from tradition.

At Shattuck-St. Mary's, however, continuity with the past was still strong in 1987. Again, two images may serve. In 1985 Gregory Kieffer was named Director of Studies. He grew up on the campus but attended Faribault High School. Gerald L. Kieffer, his father, was a Shattuck master for 26 years, and for most of that time occupied the very position that Greg inherited. A second image of continuity was the Crack Squad. (Its sister, the Wooden Soldiers, could just as appropriately have illustrated the point, except that it is not nearly so old.) In 1987 the Squad, in one sense, represented continuity with the old Army tradition, even though in the past it had sometimes been at odds with it. More significantly, it was continuing its *own* tradition of more than a century. Despite the lack of institutional military training, the quality of Squad drills was undiminished. And though all of the other student organizations had long-since become co-ed, there was no sign that the Squad and W.S. would give up their separate identities.

Despite losses and turnover, there was considerable strength and stability within the faculty. Teachers and staff members were not staying for as long periods as they had earlier in the schools' history, but in 1987 there were several with fifteen or twenty years' service, and a handful with more. Lack of continuity had become the rule, however, in the administration. Mr. Garlinski was the fifth Headmaster — not counting Interim Heads — since the 1972 consolidation. To some degree this reflected the national trend, but it is also certain that Shattuck-St. Mary's had been rocked considerably by the vicissitudes of the previous decade-and-a-half.

Shattuck-St. Mary's was still a Christian school in 1987, but it was far less a *Church* school than it had once been. The Bishop was no longer Chairman of the Board, but President — a largely honorary position. The Dean of the Cathedral was a member of the Corporation and of the Religious Life Committee. Chaplains continued to be Episcopal clergy, but turnover was frequent. The Rev. James G. Birney stayed for five years and had considerable influence, considering the difficulties under which he served.

On September 20, 1987, the faculty and student body of Shattuck-St. Mary's attended the Founder's Day service in honor of the Cathedral's 125th Anniversary celebration. This time they did not march down. The prospect of future participation was unclear. Even if the recently-revived custom continued, it was likely to become irrelevant as memory of the old relationship faded.



Top left: *Shattuck-St. Mary's going in procession to the Cathedral on a misty Founder's Day in 1984. (Photo from the* Faribault Daily News.*)* Top right: *Jarek Garlinski, Headmaster, 1986.*

END OF ANOTHER ERA

It is difficult to say exactly where the line should be drawn between "history" and "current events." History, of course, purports to tell "what happened." But history necessarily involves selection: in the long run, some things are important — others, trivial. And history also involves interpretation — seeing (or, rather, *trying* to see) a coherent pattern. Obviously not all see the same thing! Only Almighty God — "unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid" — sees the Whole Picture, past, present, and future.

After Dean Swenson moved on to White Bear Lake in 1978, there was a long interim during which Dr. Richard Byrd, then associated with the Wilson Center, served as part-time priest-in-charge. This was a period when lay ministry — of necessity — became increasingly important, and fortunately recent deans had prepared several who could assume leadership. Nevertheless, the part played by "ordinary" people must not be overlooked. Throughout the '70s a hopeful and tenacious core group had refused to give up on the Cathedral. Many of these people had grown up in the Parish, and their own spiritual character had been formed largely by its life. Some of them were involved with Cursillo, but certainly not all. While they may have disagreed about specific issues, they nevertheless shared a commitment that went deeper. These were the people who kept coming to church, kept saying their prayers, and kept paying the bills.

Many could be named, but one *must* be — not least for sheer longevity. For many years Miss Beatrice Lindberg was the oldest member of the Parish and served as a link with the remote past. She had been christened and confirmed by Bishop Whipple. Even in her early nineties she was in church every Sunday, helping junior choir members vest and singing alto (sometimes a bit off-key as her hearing failed) in the senior choir. She was involved in Guild activities, especially the bazaars. Finally, in the early '70s, when she could no longer live alone, she moved to a rest home — but she kept in touch with the Cathedral. In 1976 the congregation celebrated her hundredth birthday and gave her a bag of silver dollars — one for each year of her life. She died at the age of 103. Miss Lindberg was never a prominent leader in the Parish — just a faithful worker. Her tangible memorial is a small brass plaque on a door in the Guild House. It reads simply: "Bessie's Closet." Her death in 1979 seemed to mark the end of an era.

Bess Lindberg, shown here working at a Christmas bazaar.

Meeting Miss Lindberg

"Shortly after I had arrived in Faribault in the Spring of 1975, I set out to call upon the eldest member of the parish, Miss Bess Lindberg, who was then living at the Masonic Home in Bloomington, Minn. I had heard many "Bess Lindberg stories" from Cathedral parishioners, about her driving to Minnesota Twins baseball games until she was in her early 90's, about her pioneering work in developing Occupational Therapy, about her devotion to the Cathedral and the Episcopal Church, and I was eager to meet this distinguished lady. According to her friends in Faribault, she was then 98 years young.

"Bess was living in a one room apartment at the Masonic Home, and when I arrived one sunny Spring day, I found my way to her door, which I found slightly ajar. I had been told that Bess was quite hard of hearing, so I knocked with some force. There was no response, and I risked a look through the door, and realized that she was not in her apartment. At that moment, a young woman who came along the hallway spoke to me and said, 'There's Bess, sitting on the couch at the far end of the hall.'

"As I approached the end of the hall, I noticed that Bess was knitting at a remarkable speed, and was wearing a mask over her eyes. I leaned toward her and spoke directly into her ear, 'Miss Lindberg!'

"She whipped the mask away, looked up and said, 'Well, Dean Swenson, how very good to see you. You look just like your pictures. I suppose you're wondering why I'm knitting with this mask — well, one of these days I may begin to lose my eyesight like I'm losing my hearing, and I certainly want to be prepared. I can't think of anything more dreadful than having to sit around doing nothing, and if I learn to knit this way now, I'll be ready. It looks pretty good, doesn't it!'

"That was the first of many wonderful visits I had with Bess. She was one of three persons I've met who knew and remembered Bishop Whipple, and she told me of her confirmation day, when that very tall Bishop laid his hands upon her and prayed for the gifts of the Spirit. Those godly gifts certainly became manifest in the life of a caring woman whose enthusiasm and faith led to a new vision for persons who are limited in their physical activities, and her boundless energy for ministry continues to be an inspiration to those of us who had the privilege of knowing her."

—Dan Swenson,
Bishop of Vermont

Chapter IX

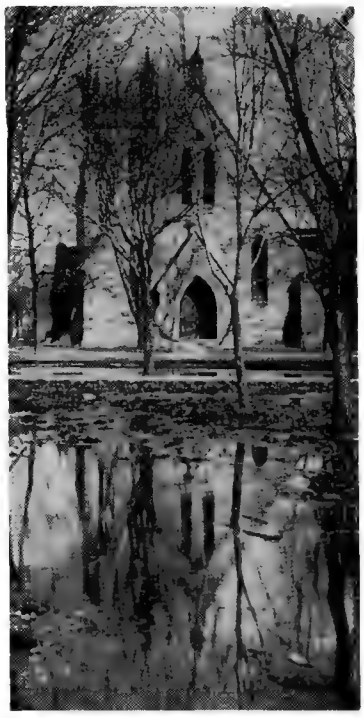
TOWARDS THE 125TH: NEW POSSIBILITIES IN THE PARISH

Faribault has always changed with changing times, but the alterations have often been internal: the facade has remained the same or been restored. This was especially true in the 1970s and '80s. After World War II and throughout the '50s, a variety of businesses (mostly small) developed. The focus began to shift away from the old downtown area — a pattern typical of countless towns and cities. Hopes in 1960 for converting part of Central Avenue into a pedestrian mall — it would have been the first in Minnesota — did not materialize; and with the opening first of Faribo Plaza in 1963 and then of Faribo West in the late '70s, some downtown shops languished. At the same time, several long-established firms in various parts of town closed. The nationwide "farm crisis", still unresolved in 1987, affected Rice County very directly. The old center of Faribault, however, got a new lease on life in 1982 when a 16-block Heritage Preservation District was created.

Left: *Central Avenue in the summer of 1987.* Above: *Workmen begin restoration of Johnston Hall. (Both photos from the* Faribault Daily News.*)*

Though interest in saving the past went back to the Old Settlers' Association (founded by Luke Hulett in 1874) and continued after 1926 through the work of the Rice County Historical Society, efforts to preserve and restore buildings started much later. In 1945 the Historical Society acquired the Alexander Faribault House, which was opened to the public in 1953. The National Bicentennial provided new impetus. *Now and Then*, edited by Lester Swanberg and published in 1976, gathered together much of the lore of the county. The same year saw the opening of the Historical Society's museum next to the Fairgrounds. Soon a goodly number of Faribault buildings were being placed on the National Register of Historic Places — including the Cathedral and Guild House, Shattuck campus (21 structures), St. Mary's Hall, Johnston Hall, the Congregational Church, and the Faribault House, as well as various business, industrial and civic landmarks, and several pioneer dwellings. Preservation of a different sort was represented by the development of the River Bend Nature Center, where a section of prairie was being re-established. *New life from old* was a recurring theme, and Johnston Hall was a good example. In the summer of 1987, an offer to renovate it for use as a medical facility assured a future for one of Faribault's handsomest monuments. Johnston Hall held a special interest for Episcopalians, of course, but citizens from the community at large had rallied to save the building.

Even if the term "Athens of the West" seemed a bit dated, Faribault in 1987 was still a center for education. Most of the state and private institutions were smaller now: *e.g.*, the Regional Center served seven hundred residents (compared with over three thousand in the late '50s) — a change largely due to a new philosophy at the state level.



The Cathedral in early springtime, reflected in a very wet Central park.

How Little and How Much Has Changed

Many things about the Cathedral are unchanged since the days of my youth. The old memorials, the stained glass windows, the golden eagle lectern with its venerable Bible, the baptismal font — all of which I dusted and polished many years ago. One major change, of course, is the Bishop Whipple chapel. A woman now plays the organ, and at the last service I attended, the crucifer was a girl.

I remember the Guild House dining hall (I suppose one should recognize its proper name, "Gilbert Hall", at least once) and kitchen better than any other feature of the Cathedral physical plant because for years after we had left the parish employ, this continued as Mother's domain. Starting in 1920, one of the parish women's projects had been to serve the weekly luncheon of the newly chartered Faribault Rotary Club. The women decided Mrs. Cann should be in charge. She was not only an excellent cook, but was willing to volunteer for the most menial of kitchen tasks. Until her death in 1961, she served the Cathedral well.

The urban sprawl of the '50s and '60s has encroached almost to the Guild Hall door. The single family homes with their lawns, shade trees and gardens that surrounded the church property are gone; the lumber yard which occupied almost a quarter block with its ugly yellow storage sheds is no more. (In those days the Botsford slogan was "Watch the Yellow Wagons", and the wagons carried coal and coke more than lumber.)

The old Deanery, once gleaming white, is now an apartment building. The old Bishop Whipple mansion, which in my day had long stood vacant and desolate behind its wrought-iron fence, is gone. Only Central Park, the Cathedral and the Guild House seem untouched by time.

— Stan Cann

Yet the Center had survived. The schools related to the Episcopal Church were also significantly diminished: in the early '60s three separate student bodies enrolled a total of well over four hundred — now one united school could count fewer than half that many. Still, all of these institutions continued to have considerable impact on the populace, not least in purely economic terms.

In 1987 Faribault remained a stable, medium-sized town. There was some wealth and some poverty, but most lived somewhere in the middle. Religion seemed to be a major force: there were 24 churches within the city limits alone — three of them Roman Catholic, six Lutheran, and several new. Politics tended to be fairly conservative, but there were mavericks at both ends of the spectrum. If Faribault could not claim to have quite all of the options available in "the Cities," it could at least enjoy a quieter, less-frenzied, certainly less-expensive style of life. And the metropolitan area was only an hour away.

THOMAS WINKLER (1979-)

Perhaps some future history of the Cathedral will view the arrival of Dean Winkler as the inauguration of a new era. For this book, however, his coming simply marks the transition from "past" to "present."

By late 1979 the problems of the '70s were by no means resolved; but eight years later, as the Cathedral began to celebrate its 125th Anniversary, many of the old issues seemed to have been forgotten. Indeed, there were even some auspicious signs for the future. Not least was stability: the only deans of living memory with tenures as long as Tom Winkler's were Charles Allen and Jack MacNaughton.

A native of Portage, Wis., Dean Winkler is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin and the Episcopal Divinity School of Cambridge, Mass. Before his call to Faribault he had served as a missionary priest in Eastern Oregon and as rector of St.

'What's In A Name'

There is a sign on the sidewalk outside the office of the Cathedral that says:

Cathedral Office

→

Bishop Whipple Crypt
Chapel Entrance

In the 1980's a young Episcopalian couple moved to town. They had jobs as psychologists at the Wilson Center and became faithful members of the Cathedral. Martha Dreyer sang in the choir, and by happy coincidence the couple even bought a condominium in the old Deanery, across 6th Street. One day Mrs. Dreyer said that she'd really like to meet the bishop. He must be an interesting man, partly because he had such an unusual and Anglican-sounding name. I was a bit confused — our bishop's name is Robert Anderson, appropriate for Minnesota, but certainly not either unusual or all that "English." Come to find out, Mrs. Dreyer thought that the bishop's name was Whipple Crypt!

—Dean Winkler

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Former Dean Hughes remembers another example of confused identity. In the early '70s, when a lot of old memorabilia came to light during a major housecleaning effort, the Cathedral verger, George Parkos, kept coming across the name Cantuar on numerous pictures. There seemed to be a whole family — Charles Cantuar, Archibald Cantuar, Edward Cantuar, Frederick Cantuar — and they were all bishops! With a name like that, they had to be French! So who, wondered George, were these French Cantuars, and why had they all sent their portraits to Bishop Whipple? During his years as verger, George had come across plenty of strange Anglican lore, but he had never been told that Archbishops of Canterbury, from time immemorial, have used the Latin abbreviation *Cantuar.* (for "Canterbury") when they sign their names. For some reason, George failed to discover another prominent rival family (equally French) from York — the *Ebors.*

The Very Rev. Thomas E. Winkler in the Cathedral pulpit.

Paul's Church, Owatonna, Minn. His enthusiasm for the great outdoors soon became evident as he organized bike, canoe, and backpacking trips. He referred to himself as "Father" — apparently the first Dean of the Cathedral to do so; but with characteristic informality he added "Tom." A bachelor Father — the first unmarried dean since Slattery — he nevertheless expressed a strong conviction about families worshipping together, and cries of infants soon became commonplace in the Cathedral. (Later, when there was some pressure to reopen the nursery, a few parents of small children refused, on principle, to use it — the Dean's teaching had succeeded only too well!) He became — with the brief and extraordinary exception of Paul Matthews — the first incumbent not to live in a church-owned house; instead, at his urging the deanery was sold and a housing allowance provided so that he might buy a place of his own. At 15 Mitchell Drive, kept company by a dog named Chaucer, he has enjoyed such after-hours pursuits as gardening, cooking, music, and entertaining.

In accepting the call of the Cathedral, he announced that his priorities would be to bring the Parish together and to encourage lay ministry. Unlike his predecessor, Dean Winkler did not attempt to serve equally all factions of a divided congregation. Instead, without excluding any, he determined to concentrate most of his effort on those most willing to participate. From the first he insisted upon *one* Sunday morning service — not two or even three — hoping that common worship would promote unity. By 1987 it appeared that this approach was working, though some, alienated during the '70s (for whatever reason), continued to take little or no part in parish life. Official figures at the

The Dean loves to eat!

Stories the Dean Tells on Himself

"The incumbent Dean is well known to be a liturgical purist. One of the things he insisted on was that the Easter Vigil begin *in the dark*, as the rubrics direct. Since the Vigil always fills the Cathedral with visitors and members of other Episcopal congregations who are not always familiar with the building, there are bound to be problems. One year, the ushers were equipped with penlights, and there was no difficulty ushering people to pews. But a problem arose because those benighted visitors didn't know about the dividers in the middle of our pews. They would inch their way down the pew in the darkness, and then literally fall over the divider! This resulted in quite a bit of noise, some startled sounds of distress, and not a little giggling! [The atmosphere is supposed to be one of *silent* expectation.] Ever since, the Dean has decided that it would be wiser to leave the lights on very low until people have found their places in the church."

* * * * *

"When I first came to the Cathedral in the fall of 1979, it was a time of change in the Episcopal Church, with all of the attendant discomfort that change entails. Not a few remarks were heard continually about all of the unfortunate consequences of these changes. At any rate, the Sunday School constructed a garden tomb for the Lent and Easter of 1980. It was very bare during the forty days of Lent, but in Eastertide bloomed with paper flowers, newly-sprouted seedlings, fake birds, and even stuffed animals that the children made or brought from home. Toward the end of the Easter season, the Public High School choir gave its final performance of the school year in the Cathedral. In order to set up risers, they dismantled the tomb and moved it out. I came to the concert, and seated myself fairly close to the front on the pulpit side. Looking around, in a proprietary kind of way (as clergy are wont to do), I noticed a *stuffed rabbit* sitting on the edge of the pulpit! It was too late at that point to do anything about it unobstrusively, but I kept wondering, during the concert, what both members and guests of the Cathedral felt I was up to now, with a *stuffed rabbit* on the pulpit!"

* * * * *

"In 1984, April Fools Day happened to fall on a Sunday. In the shower that morning, I felt that the opportunity for some light-hearted mischief was too great to pass up. Various schemes were thought of and dismissed, but I finally settled on one. During announcements I told the congregation that a new group, which had recently been formed by the Chapter to look after the physical fabric of the Cathedral, would be meeting for the first time the next evening. This was fortunate, I said, because NorWest Bank had approached me, wondering if we might be interested in a long-term lease of land between the Cathedral and the Guild House so that they could expand the parking for their motor bank next door, as well as straighten out the drive. [Their situation requires a 90° turn.] Those members of the congregation who regularly come to coffee in the Guild House were immediately informed that the whole idea was an April Fools joke. Many who did *not* come to coffee went home aghast, even calling the bank on Monday to protest! I had to pay a call to the bank president on Monday afternoon to assure him that I had meant no harm. I was surprised that *everyone* — those who thought it a good money-raising idea and those who were outraged — believed me. I don't tell lies well, and I was shaking and my voice was quivering as I told this one."

—Thomas E. Winkler

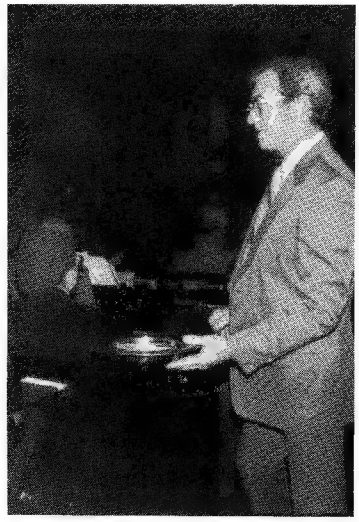
end of 1986 listed 75 families and an additional 75 individuals — a total of 150 households. Altogether there were 327 baptized persons, 217 of whom had been confirmed. And there was a new category: 68 members were now designated "inactive." (With new membership criteria from the National Church, it had been necessary simply to drop others from the roll.) There continued to be little prospect for natural growth: Faribault's population had remained stable, but several businesses had either closed or relocated during the previous decade. A few new families had joined the congregation, but not at a faster rate than faithful old members died or moved away. However, some of the disaffected had begun tentatively to involve themselves once again. Now the Cathedral could no longer offer an array of activities, and as a result a few young families went to more active churches. In 1987 the hope seemed to be that a renewed family spirit would attract some whose needs were unsatisfied in larger, less personal congregations. Dean Winkler kept saying, "We need to learn how to be a *parish*."

Developing lay ministry was to be Dean Winkler's other major emphasis. There used to be a clear division of labor: clergy predominated in the "spiritual" sphere and the laity assisted in the "temporal." (Doubtless this is an over-simplification, but the view was probably common in most denominations.) In ordinary usage, the word *minister* almost always referred to a deacon or priest — in fact, during most of the Whipple era, the clergyman who had charge of the Cathedral under the Bishop was called the "Assistant Minister"; later the same term was used for a curate, until the late 1960s. But gradually the role of the laity began to change. In the new Prayer Book, adopted in 1979, the Catechism expanded the definition of "minister" to include *every* Christian person in his or her daily life and work. In the mid-'80s, with help from the Leadership Academy for New Directions (LAND), Dean Winkler began to work through the commission structure of the Cathedral Chapter to foster greater participation of lay-people in all areas of the Cathedral's work — stewardship, outreach, property, education, fellowship, and worship. (Soon the various commissions and sub-committees involved a large percentage of the "active" congregation, with many individuals serving on two or more.) Certainly lay ministry did not begin at the Cathedral with Tom Winkler, but he has emphasized it more consistently than did previous deans.

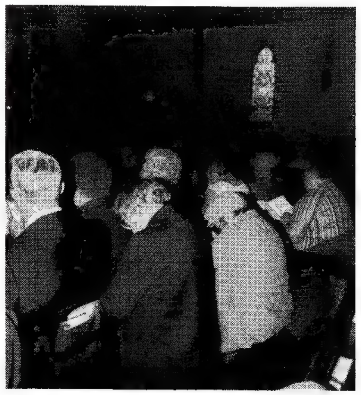
In 1987 the most tangible signs of improving health in the Parish were financial. The history of the Cathedral is riddled with problems due, at least in part, to lack of money. Even in successful times there was seldom a surplus. Apparently there never was great wealth in the Cathedral congregation — or, for that matter, generally in Faribault — and those who had money were not necessarily generous contributors. But after World War II, and especially since the '70s, the Cathedral's modest endowment began to grow. By 1986 the annual income from investments was about $35,000. Use of such income, however, was strictly limited — to maintenance and improvement of Cathedral properties and to supplemental outreach purposes. (In the mid-'80s, these categories accounted for about one-third of a typical budget.) Investment income could not normally be used to subsidize the regular parish program.

For 1987 the total number of family and individual pledges was 120, and the amount pledged was 9.5% higher than the previous year's. Of the total budget for 1987, roughly half was earmarked for salaries and benefits; 17% for Diocesan, National Church, and other work outside the Parish; another 17% for utilities, insurance, and upkeep; and the rest for objects as diverse as office expenses, new music for the choir, and Sunday School supplies. As in the previous year, the Parish in 1987 adopted a deficit budget — about $6,500 over anticipated income. (The 1986 budget was some $12,000 over, but by the end of the year the actual deficit was only $881.85 — thanks to supplemental pledges, minor economies, and a timely malfunction of the Cathedral's gas meter.)

Another sign of vigor in the Parish was the success of the organ renovation fund drive. By the end of 1987, all pledges were paid and over $160,000 had been raised — more than enough to pay for rebuilding and enlarging the 116-year-old instrument. Solicitation began during the diocesan "Challenge" campaign, and some feared that



Top: *Paul Onkka, Senior Warden of the Cathedral.* Below: *Bucky Roosmalen passes the plate.*



Top: *Helen Wafler, one of several lay readers, administers the chalice.* Below: *A Sunday morning congregation at prayer.* Opposite page: *Committee for the 1965 Preaching Mission* — front row, from left: *Gene Reyman, Poppy Batchelder, Dean MacNaughton, Bishop McNairy (preacher of the week), Laurinda Kahn, Bessie Lindberg;* back row: *Lester Swanberg, George Kingham, Howard Quigley, Don Wafler, Paul Onkka, Dean Cates, Ken Agerter.*

members of the Cathedral were being expected to do too much all at once. The skeptics were proven wrong.

As the 125th Anniversary approached, the Cathedral faced an extraordinary challenge and opportunity — the prospect that it would soon receive half of the estate of Miss Alice Warren. (It was due to the foresight of her father, Dr. Frank Warren, that the Cathedral endowment was organized in the first place.) Miss Warren, who had lived in Washington, D.C, for many years, died in 1967. She suffered from multiple sclerosis, and the other half of her estate was designated for M.S. research at the University of Minnesota. Income from her Cathedral bequest would make possible a variety of special projects — and also test the congregation's commitment to mission.

Ultimately, of course, a parish (of whatever denomination) is people — the People of God in a certain place, working together. While it was true in 1987 that membership was much smaller than it once had been and that several fine old organizations were defunct, it was also true that the Cathedral was still a busy place. Besides the Dean, there were four part-time paid staff-persons: a secretary, verger, organist, and choirmaster. (The full-time deacon received no stipend, only travel and incidental expenses.) Much of the ordinary work was done by volunteers: teaching in the Sunday School, singing in the choir, serving as acolytes and lay-readers, producing and mailing out the newsletter, shoveling sidewalks in winter, making soup for a Lenten luncheon, ushering, serving on the Chapter or one of its commissions, repairing a leaky faucet or painting a classroom, attending a regional or diocesan meeting, calling on the sick, working with Southeast Asian children, working on the annual canvass, arranging flowers for the altar, ringing the bells, making coffee for after church, organizing the Christmas pageant, guiding a tour group, bringing groceries for the food shelf ... All of these tasks — and many more — grew out of the primary work of the Parish: the worship of Almighty God.

BUT WHAT ABOUT *THE CATHEDRAL?*

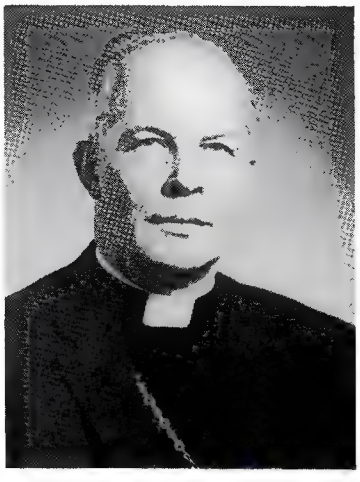
If the Episcopal Church in Faribault were an ordinary parish, Chapter IX could conclude at this point. But there is a further complication: the Church in Faribault is also a cathedral. In 1987 the proud motto still appeared on the letterhead — "The First Cathedral in the American Church." The claim may be mainly historical, but it raises a contemporary question: *In what sense* is the Church in Faribault a cathedral today? What, indeed, *is* a cathedral?

AFTER KEELER: THREE BISHOPS AND THE 'BISHOP'S CHURCH'

In 1987 the Cathedral was functioning as "the Bishop's Church in Faribault" only occasionally, though this represented a significant increase.

The Rt. Rev. Hamilton H. Kellogg (Bishop after Keeler, 1956-1971) came to Faribault frequently, but most of his visits were to the three Church schools, in which he took a deep interest. He seldom appeared at the Cathedral, except for the annual confirmation service. "Ham from Skaneateles" (N.Y.) — as he sometimes introduced himself — had a slightly brusque manner and a gravelly voice, but when he spoke of either the Flag or the Cross, he grew emotional. Little things endeared him: New Year's Day calls to every clergyman in the Diocese, checks for $50 whenever a baby was born to a clergy family. He had all sorts of facts about people in each congregation jotted down on 3x5 cards and reviewed them before visiting a parish. During most of his episcopate, the Cathedral was relatively stable, and many of his letters concerned routine business. His administration was clearly focused on the Twin Cities, and much of the "out-state" work was handled by the Suffragan, the Rt. Rev. Philip F. McNairy.

Bishop McNairy (Diocesan, 1971-1978) was more directly involved, partly because he was Bishop during difficult times — both at the Cathedral and at the schools. He had grown up in Minnesota, at Lake City, and later had been rector of Christ Church, St. Paul — the "mother church" of the Diocese founded by Breck in 1850. When he took over after Kellogg's retirement, Bishop McNairy decided to be installed at the



Top right: *The Rt. Rev. Hamilton H. Kellogg.* Middle: *The Rt. Rev. Philip F. McNairy.* Bottom: *The Rt. Rev. Robert M. Anderson, Diocesan since 1978.*

Faribault Cathedral. The service, on January 30, 1971, was particularly festive, and apparently McNairy became the first Bishop of Minnesota to wear a cope and miter, gifts of the clergy of the Diocese. (The Rev. P.A. Jones, long associated with the capital city's highest church, St. Paul's on-the-Hill, wept openly for joy on that occasion and was heard to say that he had never expected to witness such a sight in Faribault.) McNairy proved to be a moderate bishop in a time when extremes polarized the Episcopal Church. After retirement in 1978 he continued to help with confirmations, but deteriorating health forced him to give this up. He was an eloquent preacher, and probably his greatest contribution to the Cathedral's life was the mission that he conducted in 1965.

The Rt. Rev. Robert M. Anderson, the Seventh Bishop, followed McNairy's precedent and was also installed at Faribault, on May 20, 1978. (A native of Staten Island, New York City, and former dean of St. Mark's Cathedral, Salt Lake City, he was consecrated at St. Mark's, Minneapolis.) At Faribault, Bishop Anderson, an advocate of various social justice causes, expressed a strong feeling of connection with Henry Benjamin Whipple — especially Whipple's great work among Native Americans. The early years of the Anderson episcopate were not free of conflict, but he showed himself to be a perceptive listener and an effective reconciler. He also demonstrated an intense interest in individuals. At one of the first Easter Vigils at the Cathedral, during the early 1980s, for example, there were over fifty to be confirmed, and the Bishop personalized the words said over each candidate, not only mentioning the person's name but interpolating an impromptu prayer for each one. Though the laying-on-of-hands took much longer than usual that night, it also made a deep impression. The Vigil particularly deserves emphasis, for by 1987 this occasion — always conducted at the Cathedral by a bishop, often Anderson — had become a major annual event in the southern part of the Diocese, bringing together Church-people from a number of parishes. Indeed, most came from outside of Faribault — and even Minneapolis and St. Paul were regularly represented, despite the fact that St. Mark's offered a similar service. At least once a year the Faribault Cathedral has been serving very effectively as a regional church, and a tradition has been established. Though the ritual was no longer

"simple," Henry Benjamin Whipple might well have approved — for such occasions, bringing together both Bishop and people, communicated a lively sense of what it means to be an Episcopalian and a member of the Universal Church. Surely *that* is one of the chief reasons for a cathedral.

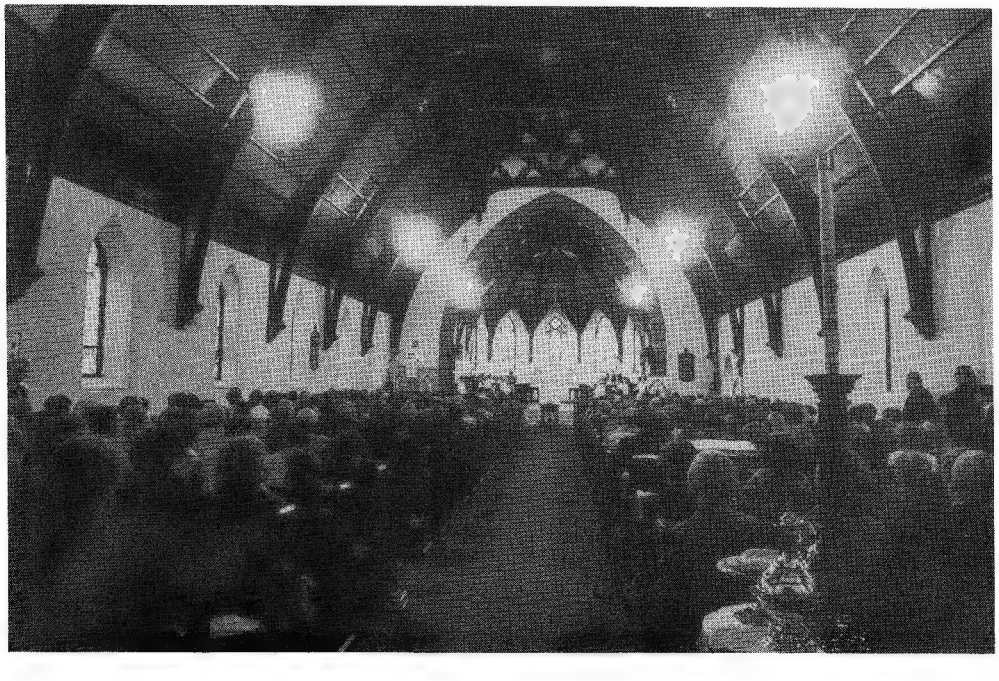
OTHER ROLES

During the 1980s the Bishop's Church in Faribault was also occasionally used for other "cathedral" events. Early in the decade Dean Winkler revived Founder's Day, for example. Originally, as organized by Dean Slattery, Founder's Day — September 16, the anniversary of Bishop Whipple's death — was a great diocesan missionary rally held at the Cathedral. According to the Constitution of 1906, the preacher, whenever possible, was to be a missionary recently returned from the field. Later, as evangelistic fervor cooled and Faribault's place in the Diocese diminished, September 16 evolved into a local minor "saint's day" when the Holy Communion was celebrated in the crypt for a handful of parishioners — an observance quite unrelated to mission. (It continued in the 1980s.) Dean Winkler's idea was to redesign Founder's Day to reaffirm the traditional connection with Shattuck-St. Mary's. The annual occasion featured a procession of students and faculty, led through town by a bag-pipe band, and culminated in a festive service at the Cathedral. Linked with Homecoming Weekend in early October, the new Founder's Day included Shattuck-St. Mary's parents as well as members of the Parish, filling the Cathedral to capacity.

The Cathedral, very full on Founder's Day.

Mothering Sunday, a part of the 125th Anniversary, brought together Episcopalians from nearby congregations to renew family ties at their "mother church." (It was inspired by the old English custom of returning to the parish church of one's childhood on the Fourth Sunday of Lent.) Each parish brought its charter — signed, of course, by Bishop Whipple — and stories of the early days were retold. The occasion not only looked back with nostalgia to the original mission network but also offered mutual encouragement for the future.

More ambitious was a series of annual Small Church Conferences which brought together both clergy and lay-people, largely from the southern counties, to focus upon the needs and opportunities of small town and rural ministry. (The Cathedral by now was no longer a large church, and many of its concerns were similar.) In 1986 the Cathedral and Shattuck-St. Mary's hosted a two-week summer LAND Conference on the Shattuck campus. More than twenty attended, including representatives from the

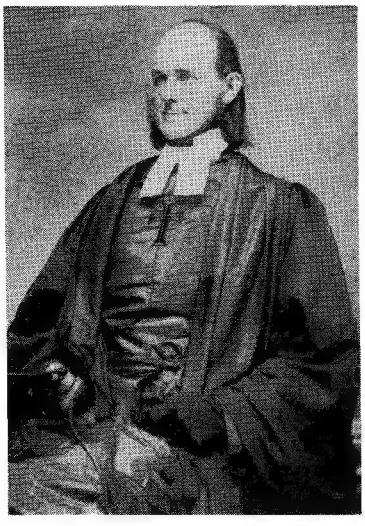


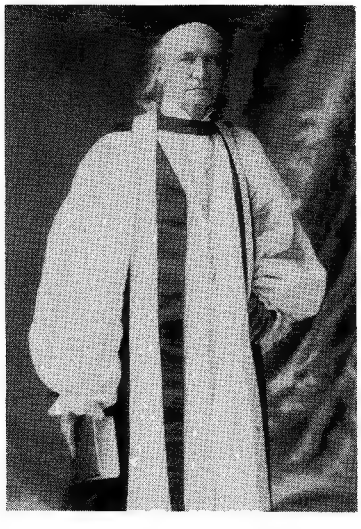
western United States and Canada. Education, of course, had been an integral part of the Cathedral's mission from the beginning. By sponsoring such events, the Bishop's Church in Faribault was not only serving the Church in its region and beyond — it was also reclaiming something of its past.

One of the ancient prerogatives of a cathedral is to name honorary canons, and the Faribault Cathedral during the past decade has recognized three priests for significant contributions in missionary work. In 1980 the Rev. Andrew N. Otani was honored for his service to the Japanese-American community in the Twin Cities, as was the Rev. George Smith, D.D., in 1986 for his ministry among Native Americans in Minnesota. Also in 1986 the Cathedral honored the Rev. H. Boone Porter for his long-time work at the national level in support of rural churches. Now editor of *The Living Church*, he was a speaker at the 1986 LAND Conference.

In the fall of 1987 the Diocese moved its officer for small congregations, Mary Hassell, out of Minneapolis. Henceforth she would serve "out-state" parishes from two locations — the Faribault Cathedral and Brainerd. Her work would include administration of rural ministry programs as well as consultation.

From time to time there were inklings of a larger role for the Cathedral. In the early '70s, for instance, the Chapter was told that the Diocese might move its headquarters to Faribault. Almost fifteen years later, hopes were raised once again. Bishop Anderson, like all his predecessors, had found that the vast geography of Minnesota was exhausting his energies. First he experimented with assistant bishops. Then in 1985 he proposed studying subdivision of the Diocese into two "jurisdictions" — one named for Minneapolis, the other for St. Paul — but with one central administrative office. The St. Paul jurisdiction would have comprised the capital city's metropolitan area and the southern part of the state. His idea was remarkably similar to the "Pope plan" of 1911 — with one very important difference: the Bishop's Church in Faribault would have served as the cathedral of the St. Paul jurisdiction. The Diocese, however, was not interested in subdividing. As an alternative solution, Bishop Anderson tried "cluster visitations" instead. Thus in 1987 the Bishop continued ministering to a diocese of unmanageable proportions, and Episcopalians in Faribault were left wondering what part the Cathedral might be asked to play in the future.





Two who saw the vision of the "First Cathedral" — top: Dr. James Lloyd Breck. Below: Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple.

"AN EPISCOPAL COMMUNITY FOR MISSION"

What is a cathedral?

An immediate image comes to mind: a big, elaborate edifice — probably Gothic, or at least Romanesque — echoing with the sounds of a mighty organ and angelic choristers. Appealing as it is, that image is not what Dr. Breck and Bishop Whipple envisioned for the Cathedral in Faribault! Rather they had in mind *an Episcopal community for mission*. The phrase (which is not theirs but the authors') requires some explanation.

Episcopal, for most Americans who use the term at all, is the name of a relatively small mainstream religious denomination. But the primary meaning of the word is much more specific: "of or having to do with a *bishop*." Any real cathedral, then, is directly linked to a bishop — it is in some sense (to use Whipple's term) a "bishop's church." Breck, in his concept of an Associate Mission, saw the Bishop at the center —the chief missionary. During Breck's career that ideal was realized briefly and only once — at Faribault. For Breck — and probably also for Whipple — *Associate Mission* and *Cathedral* were synonymous. As long as Bishop Whipple was alive, there was not much doubt about the Cathedral's *episcopal* character. After 1901 — and especially after 1941 — there was considerable doubt. If there wasn't, there should have been.

Community, in everyday usage, normally refers to a town or city: all who happen to live there make up the "community." (The word *parish* was formerly used in the same way; it was as much a geographical as an ecclesiastical term.) Literally *community* means "together-oneness." It should not be forgotten that the roots of the Faribault Cathedral go back to an Associate Mission — a quasi-monastic group. (Indeed, one of the oldest uses of the word *community* was in connection with monasteries.) Schools, a

parish church, and an "itinerancy" were attached to it, but the Mission was the core. From the beginning its members included both ordained and lay persons, both men and women. It was an intentional, not an accidental community, characterized by religious dedication and considerable self-sacrifice. It is difficult to say how long this original sense of community persisted — certainly it motivated not only the clergy but many of those who taught in the schools, who saw their work as a specifically Christian calling. Defining what "community" meant in the early days of the Cathedral, however, is easier than suggesting what it might mean in the very different conditions of the 1980s and beyond. To attempt that would exceed the scope of this book and certainly the competence of the authors! The past can be a source of experience and inspiration, but, for better or worse, history can never really be repeated. Yet one further observation may be in order: *community*, as it has been used here, is not a word in isolation — it is modified by *Episcopal*. That is, a cathedral, as we understand it, is not a community unto itself; it is a community *with* the Bishop — *and* the Diocese. The last point may be of crucial importance in the history of the Faribault Cathedral, for while it was clearly Bishop Whipple's church, it does not seem to have been a *diocesan* church: it does not seem, even at the beginning, to have represented a diocesan consensus.

Finally, *mission*. It derives from the Latin verb that means "send." A "mission", in other words, is what one is *sent to do*. In one sense the Church's mission is simple to articulate: "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to the whole creation" (St. Mark XVI:15). The 1979 Prayer Book catechism (p. 855) expands upon the Biblical imperative this way:

The mission of the Church is to restore all people to unity with God and each other in Christ ... The Church pursues its mission as it prays and worships, proclaims the Gospel, and promotes justice, peace, and love.

And yet, one is not just sent out in general — one is sent to a particular place, at a particular time. Mission may be a given, but it must also be discovered. Undoubtedly Breck and Whipple and the other members of the pioneer Episcopal community in Faribault discovered that *their* mission included far more than they had bargained for! But they were called and committed to it, and they achieved great things for the sake of Christ and the Church. They were not just a community — even just an Episcopal community: they were an Episcopal community *for mission*. They were a cathedral — very possibly the first one in the American Church.

In the summer of 1987 their spiritual heirs were celebrating the 125th Anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone of the Cathedral building. They were intensely proud of their church's history. Over the years, admittedly, much had been lost — but so much had survived! Many — perhaps most — were not exactly sure what makes cathedrals (including this one) different from ordinary churches; but they knew what a parish is, and they were generally satisfied that theirs was a good one and getting better. Eighteen months earlier a committee had drafted a "mission statement" for the Cathedral, but at the next annual meeting it soon was apparent that the congregation was not ready to vote: much more discussion would be needed. So it was tabled — and hasn't been heard of since! Perhaps, in retrospect, that was wise: philosophical statements can take forever to get just right, and even then don't always fit real-life situations. But though the present mission of this Cathedral Parish was still unformulated, the handsome old building was being used more and more as a cathedral.

The events of the Anniversary were raising everyone's spirits. There was the colorful pageantry of the Indian Convocation, with the new Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in attendance. (The Rt. Rev. Edmund Lee Browning had previously been Bishop of Hawaii and thought that the Honolulu Cathedral had been first — but, as he said, he was learning a lot about the Church as he traveled around the country. And he was concerned to clarify one minor point: the Presiding Bishop, contrary to reports in the local press, is *not* the Episcopalian Pope!) Two men were ordained at the service: Johnson Loud, an Ojibwa, to be deacon at St. Antipas' Church, Redby, and Ivan Sutherland, to be "sacramentalist" at St. Philip's, Rice Lake.[1] The occasion brought to mind the vision of Breck and Whipple for the Cathedral; it also evoked images of a

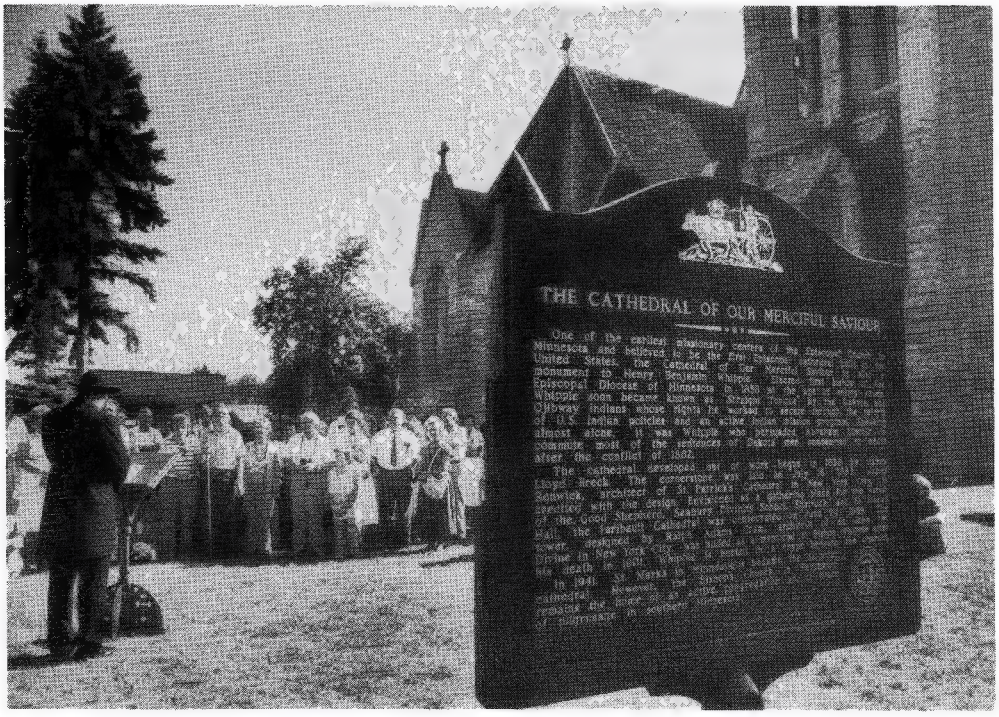
[1] A "sacramentalist" is one ordained to celebrate the Holy Communion in a specific community (usually remote) which otherwise would not have the services of a priest. Mr. Sutherland's ordination recognized his leadership and long ministry as a lay-reader. Though qualifications of sacramentalists may differ from those of other clergy, they are nevertheless fully-ordained priests of the Church. Redby is on the Red Lake Reservation, and Rice Lake is on the White Earth Reservation; both are in Northern Minnesota.

The Indian Convocation, 1987— top left: *Ordination service at the Cathedral* — from left: *the Rev. Philip Allen, Indian priest; the Bishop of Minnesota (in headdress); the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church; the Rev. James Newman, Northfield and Dundas* (Faribault Daily News *photo).* Top right: *An Indian acolyte, followed in the recessional by the banner of St. Philip's Church, Rice Lake.* Bottom: *Bishop Anderson holding up a peace-pipe in the Convocation tent at Shattuck.*

history of missionary work with and for Native Americans going back to the days of Enmegahbowh. Howard Anderson, director of the Church's Indian work in Minnesota and North Dakota, wrote Dean Winkler:

The Indians are back in Faribault! I think that the full circle of Whipple's cathedral has now been completed. We only hope the Indians remain at Faribault ... I think a special bond has been created, one perhaps as deep as the one created in Whipple's day, between Indian and white Episcopalians.

The use of Indian symbols — drums, sweet-grass, the headdress worn by Bishop Anderson — also underscored the proximity of the Cathedral's anniversary with that of the Dakota Conflict, which began just over a month after the laying of the cornerstone.



On July 16, 1987 — exactly 125 years after the First Bishop of Minnesota laid the cornerstone of the Cathedral — a historical marker is dedicated and Dean Winkler reads Whipple's sermon (Faribault Daily News *photo).*

The Governor of Minnesota had declared 1987 to be a year of reconciliation. This service sounded that theme.

Then there was *the day* itself — July 16 — when the marker from the Minnesota Historical Society was unveiled. Bishop Anderson came dressed in Henry Benjamin Whipple's vestments, and afterwards there were buggy rides and an ice cream social.

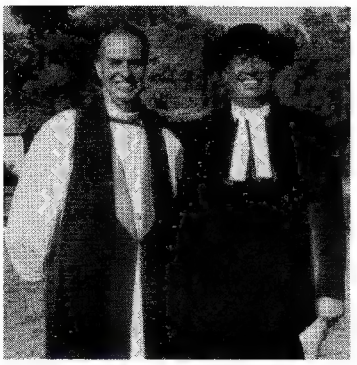
Music was an important part of the anniversary year. The restored organ — long awaited — was first played at a regular service in early August and would be dedicated in September. The Hall Brothers' jazz concert in May had filled the Cathedral. Choir and band programs were scheduled.

The banquet on October 31st and the festive service the next morning — All Saints' Day — would climax the celebration. Bishop Swenson would return to preach.

After it was all over, when the life of the Parish was back to normal, there would be time for reflection about the mission of cathedrals and what *this* Cathedral might become.

Already the idea seemed to be growing — it had been for several years. An incident that happened late in the fall of 1985 came to mind. Tom Winkler had gone up to look at the old Cemetery of the Good Shepherd on Manney Hill. The trees were so thick that it was difficult to distinguish between graveyard and forest. All around were broken markers bearing the names of pioneers whose lives had been linked to the Parish and the Associate Mission. The first burial there was recorded in 1860, the last in 1873. The heavy clay had proven unsuitable for a burial ground. (One especially significant grave had been moved: in 1967 the remains of Jane Maria, the first wife of Dr. Breck, had been transferred to a spot outside the Shattuck Chapel.) Before leaving the old cemetery, the Dean dug up a few saplings. He would transplant them on the grounds of the Cathedral, and perhaps some would take root. In fact, they did.

Something like that seems to have been happening in the Parish. There have been signs of new life and growth — though not yet of numerical increase. As the Parish (and indeed the Diocese) recovers its origins — including what Breck and Whipple attempted and achieved at Faribault in the Associate Mission and the Cathedral — new possibilities for the Church in the late Twentieth Century may emerge. The past cannot be resurrected, but perhaps a contemporary equivalent can be developed to express the Faribault Cathedral's original purpose: to be an Episcopal community for mission.



Left: *Red balloons rise heavenward at Pentecost celebration, 1987.*
Above: *Bishop Anderson dressed in Whipple's robes and Dean Winkler looking like a very Victorian parson – both all smiles on July 16, 1987.*

APPENDIX I

THE CATHEDRAL: A SETTING FOR WORSHIP IN A MISSIONARY DIOCESE

Bishop Whipple wrote very little about the Cathedral in *Lights and Shadows*, but one sentence seems to be particularly important for understanding the rationale of its design: "I desired a Bishop's Church to be forever free, the simple ritual of which would be a model for a missionary diocese." As usual, the Bishop did not elaborate. The meaning of his statement, unfortunately, is not quite obvious. There are two connections, neither of which is explained: *Bishop's Church* is linked with *free*, and *simple ritual* with *missionary diocese*. How are these connections to be understood? The first of the two is the easier to interpret: a cathedral is a bishop's church — but because he is, so to speak, pastor to his whole diocese, it is also a *diocesan* church, accessible to all, and thus ought to be free. The second connection is more difficult, mainly because of the word missionary. There seem to be at least two possibilities. One interpretation would see the missionary character of the diocese as temporary — indeed, jurisdictions incapable of supporting themselves were, until quite recently, called "missionary districts." Technically, of course, Minnesota was a full-fledged diocese; but if Whipple had this basic idea in mind, the logic would probably have run like this: Minnesota is in its infancy, and when it can stand on its own, a fuller ritual might be more appropriate — meanwhile, first things first! Another interpretation would view the missionary character of the diocese as essential: in other words, self-supporting or not, any diocese always has missionary work to do. And the implication would be that ceremony and mission are somehow *at odds*! Which, if either, of these views did the Bishop hold? It is well known that he loved art and music — he was no ascetic. He loved the Prayer Book and beauty in worship. He considered himself an "evangelical high churchman." When he preached at the consecration of the Davenport Cathedral he spoke of the special role cathedrals can have — how, with greater resources, they can raise the tone of worship throughout a diocese. But he also feared the consequences of excessive preoccupation with ritual. Year after year, often in similar phrases, he repeated this warning:

Ritual cannot regenerate the world. Unless it is the expression of a deep spiritual life hid with Christ in God, it is a worse mockery than gay garments upon a corpse. Danger is not in lack of ceremonial but in lack of holiness.[1]

Who could disagree? — and yet the unusual thing here is the first statement: Why even mention that ritual can't *regenerate* the world? Presumably because regenerating the world is what the Church's *mission* is about. A cathedral *especially* ought to be about mission, and its worship ought to set an example *about mission*. Apparently Bishop Whipple believed that *simple* ritual would do that best.

And apparently when it came to building the Faribault Cathedral, Bishop Whipple had that idea in mind.

At first glance the Cathedral may not seem particularly expressive of simplicity. Certainly to the pioneer population of Faribault in the 1860s it must have seemed anything *but* "simple"! Newspaper reports reveal mixed feelings. There was pride —"the finest church west of Chicago" — but also disappointment, tempered with hope:

Although the view of the exterior in its present unfinished state is calculated to convey to the beholder a sense of massive strength and durability rather than any idea of architectural beauty, yet when the tower and spire are finished, which is to be 165 feet in height, the whole effect ... will be materially changed.[2]

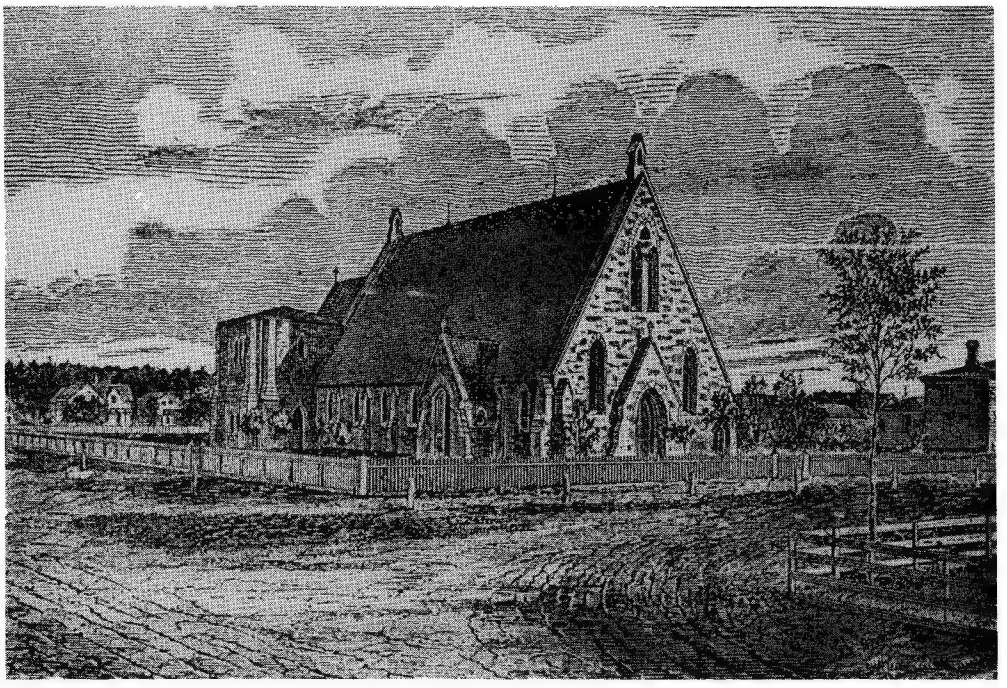
It would, of course, be years before that tower would be finished, and there never would be a spire.

Relatively speaking, though, the Cathedral *is* quite simple in its architecture. The materials and the plan are straightforward. The native limestone, pocked and spotted with iron and clay, is rough-cut. In the original stonework there are no carved details. The roof, so dominant a feature of the overall design, is covered with plain wooden shingles. The nave is a rectangle — there are no "aisles" or rows of pillars, there is no

The appendices on the Cathedral Fabric and on the Guild House rely heavily on the notebooks of Anna Theopold. In general, these sources are not cited in the marginal notes.

[1] *Lights & Shadows*, p. 228; a term like *regenerate* in this period would have conjured up a variety of feelings and connotations, some associated with the controversy over the use of the word in the service of Baptism; compare *born again* (which has the same literal meaning) in the 1980s.

[2] *Republican*, July 15, 1868, p. 3.



Dimensions of the Cathedral

Length overall	139 ft., 6 in.
Width of Nave	45 ft.
Height of Roof	60 ft.
Height of Tower	85 ft.
Width of Chancel	35 ft.
Depth of Chancel	45 ft.

—*Sources: Wiley & Palmer*

An 1876 etching of the Cathedral.

clerestory. The side walls are low and the lancet windows quite small. The chancel, with its seven gables, is admittedly more complex, but there is no rood-screen, no reredos. The interior is not barren, certainly: the windows are mostly bright, and the blue ceiling, supported by heavy carved trusses, is ruggedly handsome. The walls are plastered and painted buff. There is remarkably little Victorian clutter — and there never was. The massive stone altar, pulpit, and parapet are later enrichments; so are the carved oak stalls on either side of the arch and the Bishop's "throne." (The simpler *cathedra* by the altar is original.) And at the beginning, the altar — of plain pine, adorned only with an IHC monogram[3] — was more prominent, for there were only two choir pews on each side of the chancel. With steps as wide as the arch, the effect must have been very open. Necessary economy, no doubt, can account for *some* of the lack of ornamentation — the Bishop probably did not prefer pine to oak; but a comparative look at almost any large Episcopal church of the period — especially one designed for Anglo-Catholic worship — will emphasize how essentially simple the Faribault Cathedral is. One might even say how *honest*. It is a design of considerable dignity.

Architectural Style

Because there are so few decorative features on the exterior of the Cathedral, it is difficult to define its architectural style. It is Gothic, certainly, but "Gothic" covers a vast range. Robert C. Wiley, who oversaw construction in the last five years, called the style "English Gothic," but even that is imprecise. (It is also doubtful that he was acquainted with much architectural terminology: for example, he said that the Cathedral was built in the shape of a Greek cross. Describing it as cruciform at all seems inappropriate, but he considered the tower and the organ chamber to be the arms of the cross. Anyway, a *Greek* cross has all four arms equal — like the emblem of the American Red Cross.[4]) Even Architect Renwick's nomenclature was loose: Grace Church, New York City, he said, was "early Flamboyant." Renwick freely mixed styles, even Gothic and Romanesque. He contributed two drawings in 1853 to *A Book of Plans for Churches and Parsonages*: one he termed "Lancet or early Gothic," the other "modernized Romanesque or Round style." Both included similar stepped gables in the entrance facades, side towers, and buttresses, "their primary difference being in the

[3]IHC was an ancient abbreviation of the name Jesus — the first three letters in Greek (the C being a stylized form of *sigma*, from which our letter S derives); the more common form became IHS, but IHC was probably the original one.
[4]*Republican*, July 15, 1868, p. 3.

The Elusive Architect

James Renwick, the famous designer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, and the Smithsonian Institution, is usually named as the architect of the Faribault Cathedral, but it is difficult to say how large his part was in its design. The most difficult problem is a lack of primary documents: the original architectural drawings and correspondence apparently no longer exist.

Two pieces of evidence strongly suggest that Renwick was deeply involved in the planning process. The first is a contemporary statement from the *Faribault Republican*:

> *The Bishop's Church is now so nearly completed that we are enabled through the courtesy of Mr. Robert C. Wiley, supervising architect of its interior construction, to give our readers the following facts and figures. . . The building is in the English Gothic style of architecture with open timbered roof. It was begun in August, 1862, from plans furnished by Renwick of New York, Stephen Congdon supervising.**

It seems very likely that Wiley would have known what he was talking about. The second bit of evidence is admittedly rather oblique: in the address at the laying of the Cathedral's cornerstone, Bishop Whipple made fleeting reference to "one who drew the plan as an offering of love." The phrase seems to imply more than a favor — rather it suggests a relationship, either with the Bishop or with someone else intimately interested in the Cathedral. It will be remembered that the catalyst which set the building project in motion was the death of Mrs. Breck. And it just so happens that James Renwick was married to Anna Lloyd Aspinwall, a niece of Dr. Breck — and that Renwick's father-in-law, William H. Aspinwall, a wealthy New York merchant, was a supporter of Bishop Whipple's missionary work.** Furthermore, at this time it was fairly commonplace for architects — especially those who were deeply religious — to provide plans free of charge to mission churches. Both Renwick and the equally prominent Richard Upjohn did so.***

So much for the affirmative.

On the negative side is the statement of Bishop Keeler that the architect was a certain Henry Sanford. Perhaps Keeler was privy to information no longer available; however, he neither cited sources nor identified Sanford.****

Even if Keeler was wrong, an article that appeared in the *Republican* about a month before the consecration of the Cathedral raises some further questions about Renwick's possible role. The chancel roof, just then being finished, was described by the reporter as "a marvel of intricate angles" — and then he added that "the entire absence of working plans afforded a severe test of architectural skill."***** The story went on to suggest that Wiley — who a year earlier had named Renwick as architect — was making the necessary drawings! If there were indeed no "working plans", the mystery of the missing Cathedral blue-prints may be solved — but the question only grows larger. *How much (if at all) was James Renwick involved?*

The *Republican*'s statement about "plans furnished by Renwick of New York" is itself somewhat ambiguous: it could refer to Renwick himself or, more generally, to Renwick's firm. (By 1862 Renwick had at least two full partners and doubtless several apprentices and/or employees.) The additional phrase "Stephen Congdon supervising" is no more helpful, for Congdon is not identified and even the word *supervising* is a bit vague.******

It is entirely possible that James Renwick did personally design the Faribault Cathedral out of regard for his late aunt, Jane Maria Mills Breck. It is also possible that someone else in his office drew up whatever plans were furnished. Renwick, after all, must have been busy in 1862: he was supervising construction of the Albemarle Hotel in New York City and the main buildings

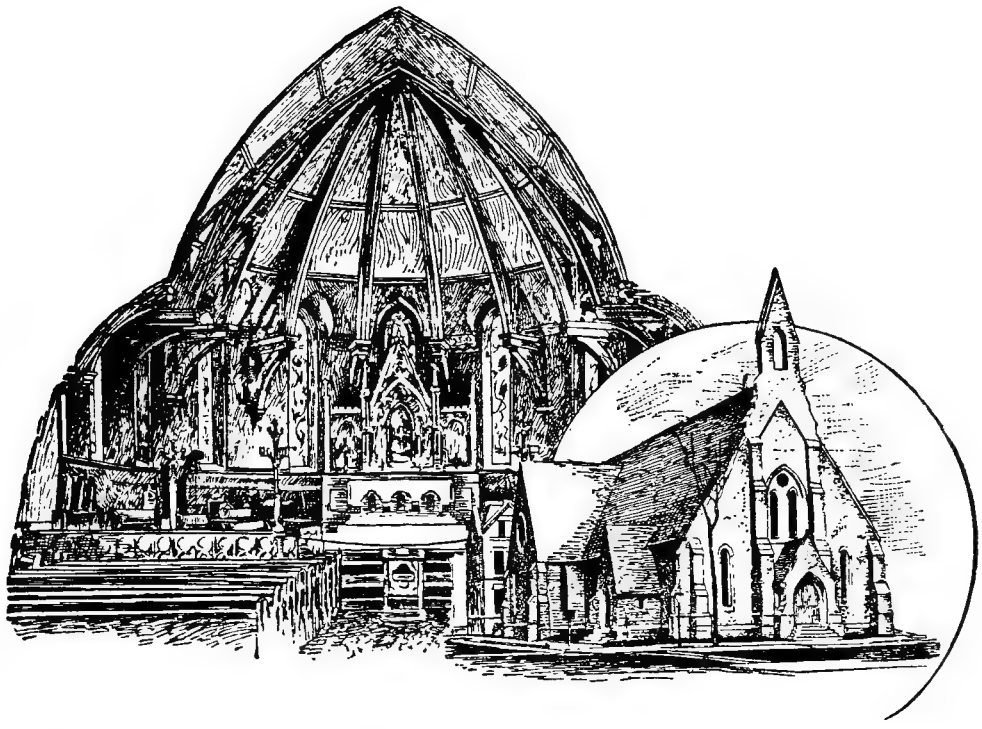
of Vassar College in Poughkeepsie. (Work on the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C. had been interrupted.) And if Renwick or his firm did design the Cathedral, the plans had to be done in a hurry — the cornerstone was laid three-and-a-half months after Mrs. Breck's funeral. Perhaps only preliminary sketches or adaptations of a standard design were provided. Still, would either have merited Whipple's phrase "an offering of love"?

All things considered, it is probably safest to say that the design of the Cathedral may be credited to James Renwick.

A few words about Renwick's career seem appropriate, in any case. His entry upon the architectural scene has been described as "meteoric." An engineer by training, at 24 he won the competition for the new Grace Church, New York City. Completed in 1846, the white marble "little cathedral" epitomized the early Gothic Revival at its most refined. (Renwick identified the style as "Early Flamboyant.") That same year he designed the Smithsonian complex in a much heavier, though still Gothic, idiom. St. Bartholomew's, which he began in 1871, was in a lavish Byzantine style. His best-known structure, St. Patrick's, which took over twenty years to build, represented a return to the airy lines of Grace Church, but on a much grander scale. Superficially his most splendid achievement, St. Patrick's was probably his greatest disappointment: cost cutting ultimately compromised its integrity. Though many of Renwick's projects were fancy and expensive, at least one of his churches cost far less than the Faribault Cathedral. In 1886 he designed "St. Mary's Chapel for Colored People" (as it was originally called) in Washington, D.C. Modest but handsome, this brick church with simple Gothic lines was built for a mere $15,000. Today it is on the National Register of Historic Places.*******

*July 15, 1864, p. 3. **Mr. Philip Stiles Breck, great-grandson of Dr. Breck, kindly made a genealogical table to illustrate the Breck-Renwick relationship. The diagram shows that there may have been a second connection: Jane Maria Mills Breck's grandmother, Jane (or Jean) Renwick, was married to Nicholas Mills; they emigrated from Scotland before 1790 and are buried near Argyle, N.Y. (Philip Breck is not sure whether Mrs. Mills was related to James Renwick's great grandfather — also named James Renwick — who came from Scotland in 1783 and founded the Renwick clan of New York City.) ***Letter dated Jan. 28, 1986 from Selma Rattner of Kings Point, N.Y., an authority on Renwick. She wrote her master's thesis (Columbia, 1969) on "Renwick's Design for Grace Church: Religious Doctrine and the Gothic Revival." She also wrote the article on Renwick for *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects* (New York: Free Press, 1982), vol. III, pp. 541-548. ****Cathedral Age*, Midsummer, 1935, p. 10. Sanford is not listed in *Macmillan Encyclopedia*. According to Selma Rattner, a master's thesis on "The Churches of James Renwick, Jr." by Effingham Humphrey (New York Univ., 1942) does not include the Faribault Cathedral. *****May 19, 1869, p. 1 ******The only Congdon in *Macmillan Encyclopedia* is Henry Martyn Congdon of New York City, architect of the Shattuck Chapel; perhaps Stephen Congdon was a relative who worked for Renwick. — but this is sheer speculation. C.N. Daniels was "superintendent" until the exterior stonework was finished, beginning in 1865, Wiley took over as "supervising architect", so the words "Stephen Congdon supervising" are quite confusing, unless they refer specifically to the drawing of the plans. *******Selma Rattner, "Renwick's Church for the Blacks," *Historic Preservation*, July-Sept., 1972, pp. 32-35

Renwick's first masterpiece: Grace Church, New York City, where Dr. Slattery would one day serve as rector.



The Cathedral of SS. Peter & Paul, Chicago: remarkably similar to the Faribault Cathedral.

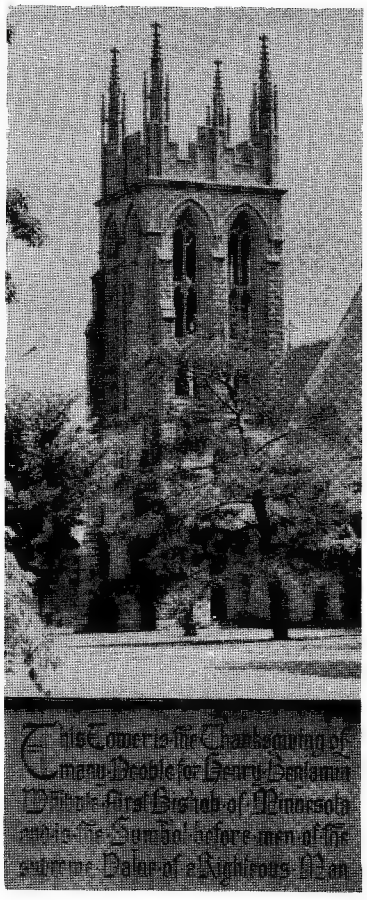
shape of the windows."[5] It should also be mentioned that the Gothic Revival in America took a different direction after about 1845. The earliest Gothic churches — most notably Trinity, Wall Street, by Richard Upjohn, and Grace Church — had been designed in a highly elaborate "cathedral" style; beginning, however, with the Church of the Holy Communion, New York City, also by Upjohn, a simpler *rural parish church* idiom came into favor — a style characterized by rough-cut stone, low side-walls with narrower windows, steep gables (often topped with a bellcote on the west front), and a side tower. Upjohn's chapel at Nashotah is a classic example, even though it includes aisles. The Chicago church, by an unknown architect, that was enlarged in 1861 to become the Bishop's Chapel (or the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul) was similar in many details, though on a larger scale. And its facade was so like that of the Faribault Cathedral that one would swear the two churches were designed by the same man.[6] "English" or not, the Faribault Cathedral's basic architectural style is definitely *early rural parish church Gothic.*

But there are a couple of important deviations: the apse and the upper stages of the tower. English churches generally have rectangular chancels. Polygonal apses, more typically a French feature, were becoming popular, though, in the 1850s and '60s; in most cases they were considerably narrower than the nave and rather shallow. (The Nashotah chapel has such an apse; so did the Shattuck chapel until it was remodeled in 1926.) The Cathedral's east end, however, is neither narrow nor shallow: articulated by a wide arch and encompassing *seven* sides, the chancel is elegant and spacious — more "cathedral" than "parish church" in its effect.[7] The chancel is prominent both inside and outside, and in the 1860s would have made a statement easily lost sight of today. Chancels, as such, had been almost non-existent in Protestant church buildings in America — and in England they were seldom used (the choristers, if there were any, often being relegated to a gallery at the west end); in some cases, chancels had been quite literally boarded-up! Chancels and apses tended to return with the Gothic Revival, though in early designs like Trinity Church and Grace Church the chancels seem like appendages. *Deep* chancels became almost an architectural article of faith for the Oxford Movement — one of the earliest in America was at the Church of the Holy Communion. A deep chancel would have been interpreted by many Churchpeople of the time as signifying a commitment to certain High Church principles — especially an emphasis on the Eucharist and on the Daily Offices. And so it seems necessary to

[5] Rattner, *Macmillan*, Vol. III, p. 541.
[6] Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1968) p. 241.
[7] The chancels of most churches provided very little room around the altar; the large Cathedral chancel seems to assume that several ministers would officiate together. Thus it lends itself well to the modern emphasis on greater lay participation. The choir stalls were not meant originally for a choir in the sense of a trained body of singers, but for the professors and students of the Divinity School.

qualify what has been said about Bishop Whipple's insistence upon a "simple ritual." It was to be *simple, but catholic*. It seems possible, too, that the chancel of the Cathedral was designed to emphasize another, closely-related idea. The subject-matter of the windows — the four Evangelists flanked by SS. Peter and Paul, with Christ *the Good Shepherd* at the center, may partly have been chosen to portray the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. Whipple did not, like some Anglo-Catholic bishops, parade in cope and mitre, but he strongly believed in the Church's apostolic tradition. Such a symbolic architectural statement would have been particularly appropriate for a *cathedral*.[8]

The tower, beautiful as it is by itself, presents a problem. Not only was it finished much later under the direction of a different architect — its style is quite different. It is still Gothic — emphatically Gothic — but a refined, urbane, chastely ornamented Gothic. That the upper stages of the tower are built of a different type of stone is hardly noticeable. Such a change was necessary — otherwise the pinnacles would by now have eroded beyond recognition. The rough-cut Indiana stone blends nicely; even the smooth stone of the arches works well. It may not even be the difference in style or the elaborateness of the pinnacles that makes the tower stand out, almost as a separate entity. After all, some of the world's great cathedrals happily embrace a multitude of unharmonious Gothic elements. Some critics have said that the tower seems too big — yet not tall enough; somehow it seems not quite structurally integrated. (*A Guide to the Architecture of Minnesota* says, "In quality of design this church is unquestionably one of the most impressive in Minnesota." But then it adds, "There is a large, almost cathedral-like tower at the side and rear."[9] "*Almost* cathedral-like" — damnation indeed with faint praise!) Yet the tower was designed by the firm of Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson — undoubtedly the most prestigious gothic firm in America. Not only so, but there is the word of Dean Slattery that Ralph Adams Cram was personally involved.[10] Cram was the pre-eminent traditionalist architect of the period — he designed St. Thomas' Church in New York City and the chapel at West Point, and he totally re-designed the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. (In Minnesota his works include St. Paul's in Duluth, House of Hope Presbyterian Church in St. Paul, and the Watkins House in Winona.) Cram wrote extensively about his work, and there are several volumes full of pictures; but so far as can be determined, none of his books or any of the studies about him mention the tower in Faribault! Compared with other structures by Cram, the Cathedral's tower is fairly simple in its ornamentation. Unlike the body of the church, which is eclectic, the tower follows a consistent style — it is pure English Perpendicular Gothic. By itself, the tower is magnificent. From certain angles it photographs well; from the west and south, however, picture composition presents difficulties. A spire reaching up 165 feet might have been a better idea.[11]



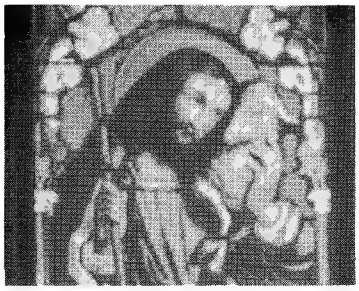
The Bishop's Tower and the memorial tablet.

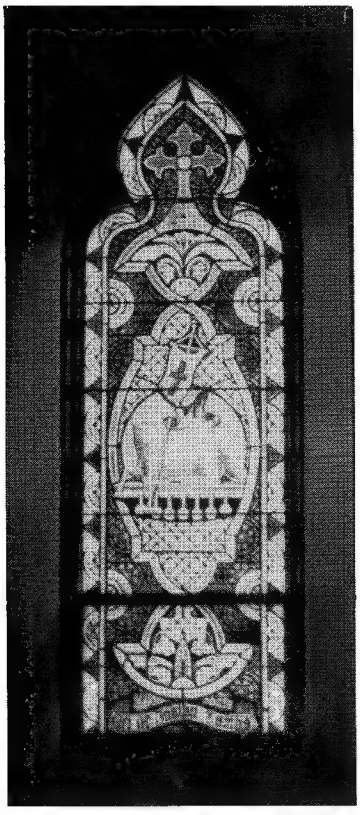
Windows and Furnishings

It is impossible, given the size of this book, to comment in detail on all of the windows and furnishings. Discussion will concentrate on the pieces that seem most interesting and important.

The windows, all designed by the George Morgan studio of New York City, were not particularly expensive — the lancets in the nave each cost about $100. Though the *Republican* thought that they were "in the best style of modern art," the windows are not especially complex in design or technique. Most of the windows get by with relatively few pieces. Nor do the windows feature complex symbolism: most of their imagery is simple, not subtle. Some of the faces are effete, even by Victorian standards. The representation of Christ in the Good Shepherd window behind the altar may have been stronger; the present head, a 1934 replacement, is, in Mrs. Theopold's words, "somewhat inferior to the original."[12] Nevertheless, the Cathedral windows are remarkable in the intensity of their colors — notably blues, reds, and bright greens. Much glass of the period is, by contrast, turgid and even muddy. In combination, the colors in the Cathedral windows produce some vivid effects — for instance, the

[8]In many churches, chancel windows represented major events in the life of Christ. (The Davenport Cathedral, built only a few years later, also has Apostle windows in its chancel.)
[9]Gebhard & Mortenson (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota, 1971), p. 247.
[10]An 1869 map (p. ii) shows the Cathedral with a spire; perhaps the engraver of the map had access to the original design and included the spire because he felt confident that it would one day be built that way. (An original of the engraving is in the Rice County Historical Society.)
[11]According to John Wark of St. Paul, who was a member of the Cathedral for 35 years, a bottle of whiskey is buried in the stonework of the tower: at some point in its construction, the masons apparently decided to "go on the wagon."
[12]*Republican*, May 19, 1869, p. 1; *A Brief History* ...(notebook), p. 10.





Top: *Detail from the Gear Memorial Window.* Below: *The* Agnus Dei *window, given by Indian children.*

red-and-blue criss-crosses in the Doane Memorial (immediately west of the north door) and the blue and bright green quatrefoils in the side panels of the altar window.

Except in the chancel, there appears to be no orderly plan to the placement of the various subjects. The chancel windows are taller and wider than the nave windows, and the figures of the apostles are relatively large and enshrined in the stained-glass equivalent of tracery. (Without such decorative borders, these saints might have looked rather forlorn.) Unfortunately, there is little to individualize them: only three of the six hold identifying symbols — St. Paul (a sword), St. John (a cup, without the usual serpent), and St. Peter (one of the "keys of the kingdom"). Each of the other three carries a book — presumably his own Gospel; and if Bishop Whipple hadn't told the members of the Diocesan Convention in 1869 which is which, succeeding generations could only have guessed.[13] It is surprising that the traditional winged emblems — man, lion, ox, and eagle — are nowhere to be found. But the colors more than redeem any deficiencies. In early morning and late afternoon the windows can utterly *glow*.

Five other windows require brief discussion. First, the window immediately south of the west door is a memorial to Jane Maria Mills Breck. The design — a *third* variation on the Good Shepherd theme — is not especially remarkable, though the lamb in the thorn-bush looks almost fierce; the window's interest is mainly historical. If this book emphasizes her role in the story of the Cathedral, it is because that role has been so ignored up to now. Secondly, two windows were given by the Whipples. The one just north of and partly hidden by the pulpit depicts Charity holding a chalice. (Is this the proverbial "cup of cold water"?) The window was given by Cornelia Whipple "in loving memory of her parents Benjamin and Sarah W. Wright." Its companion, placed originally in the comparable spot along the opposite wall (where the south door now is), was installed in the new chapel in 1934. Here the figure is not allegorical: Elizabeth of Hungary — the only non-Biblical saint represented in the Cathedral — was a 13th Century princess famed for her generosity to the poor. The Bishop donated the window in honor of his parents (his mother's name was Elizabeth). The window incorporates a saying of Jesus: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me." Finally, the two windows given by Indians probably elicit more interest from visitors than any other windows in the Cathedral. The first one, immediately west of the south door, is the *Agnus Dei* ("Lamb of God"in Latin) window. Christ, represented here as a lamb, is shown with a sealed book — the "Lamb's Book of Life", containing the names of all who will be saved. Soon after the Dakota Conflict, Indian children living in Faribault under the Bishop's protection began to gather and sell berries to make this window possible. (One can only speculate about how many gallons it must have taken to earn $100 in those days!) The window commemorates "other Indians lambs who are asleep." The second Indian window displays the seal of the Diocese. Apparently the Bishop himself designed this emblem, which shows a broken tomahawk and a peacepipe crossed, with the phrase *Pax per Sanguinem Crucis* ("Peace through the blood of the Cross" in Latin). He once said that he had tried to make those words of St. Paul (Colossians I:20) the motto of his life. This second window, he explained, was given by "poor Indians whom I was permitted to lead to Jesus."

Taken together, the stained-glass windows suggest the diversity of those who helped to build the Cathedral. Two windows represent wealthy contributors: William Pierrepont (St. John) and Robert Minturn (the Good Samaritan). Two represent helpers with humbler means: Miss Emeline C. Bogart of Albany, an invalid (the Guardian Angel) — "I never felt more grateful for any human prayers than for those of this sainted sister in the LORD," said the Bishop; and Thomas Chappell, a blacksmith from Winona (St. Peter, in honor of Jackson Kemper). Several came from congregations: Grace Church, Brooklyn (St. Matthew); Calvary, New York City (St. Luke); St. James' Sunday School, Chicago (the Font & Crown); St. Paul's, where Whipple was elected bishop (the Mitre & Crossed Crosiers); Christ Church, St. Paul (Jesus & the Children); Grace Church, Wabasha (the Baptism of Jesus); Gethsemene, Minneapolis (Jesus in the Garden); and Christ Church, Red Wing (St. Mark, in memory of Solon Manney).[14] The central window in the chancel (the Good Shepherd) came from one of the Bishop's dearest friends,

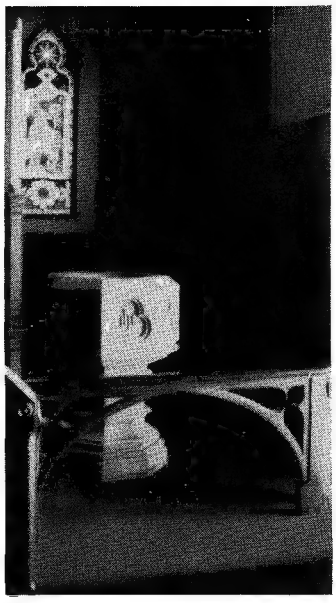
[13]From the left, as one faces east, they are: SS. Paul, Luke, John, Matthew, Mark, and Peter.
[14]Mrs. Theopold and the window itself say Christ Church, Red Wing, though the painted inscriptions were so worn by 1934 that many were redone. Whipple, in his 1869 address to the Diocesan Convention said that it was given by the clergy and divinity students.

Ezekiel Gear, "in honor of the sainted Hobart, who taught us all to take as our motto *Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order*.[15]

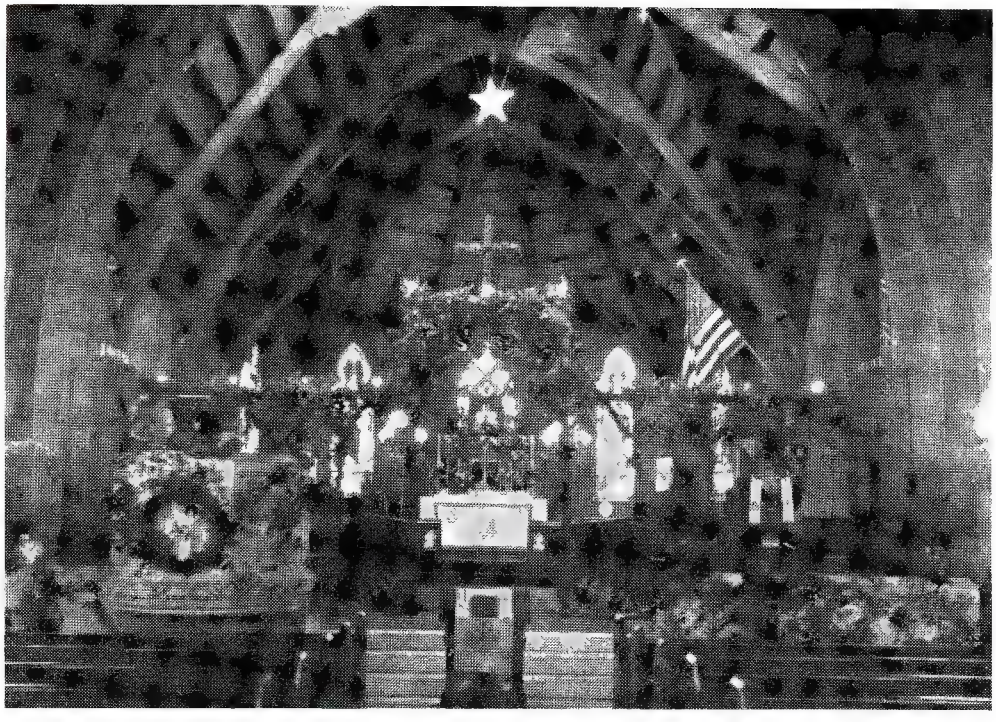
Though the glass remains unchanged but for minor repairs since 1869, some of the furnishings have changed considerably. At first most of them were quite plain and obviously home-made from modest materials. The stone baptismal font is an exception: handsome though simple, octagonal, with one large symbol carved on each side, it was probably the finest original piece in the Cathedral. It apparently is not a memorial, and the Bishop did not reveal the donor. Always beside the west door, the font has proclaimed from the beginning the importance of Holy Baptism. Unlike many of its contemporaries, this font could never be confused with an Italian birdbath. Now the *public* character of the sacrament is again being stressed, and the old font still serves admirably.

The pews also date from 1869. Built of white pine from the virgin woods of northern Minnesota, they were never stained dark — yet today they are nearly black. The only ornaments are simple quatrefoils, one on each end-piece. Most have a divider at the middle of the bench. Where there are none, gas-light standards once stood; each shaft was of wrought iron, painted blue, and at the top were three branches adorned with gilt ivy-leaf designs. Apparently *one* purpose of the dividers was to keep the Shattuck boys and the St. Mary's girls apart. For many years, after the people of the Parish started to attend the Sunday morning Cathedral service, they occupied the middle of the nave on the *in*-sides of the dividers; the boys sat on the south *out*-side, and the girls sat on the north *out*-side. Much of the construction work on the pews was done by William Milligan. The seats and backs were not shaped to conform to the body, and originally there may have been no kneelers, at least cushioned ones.

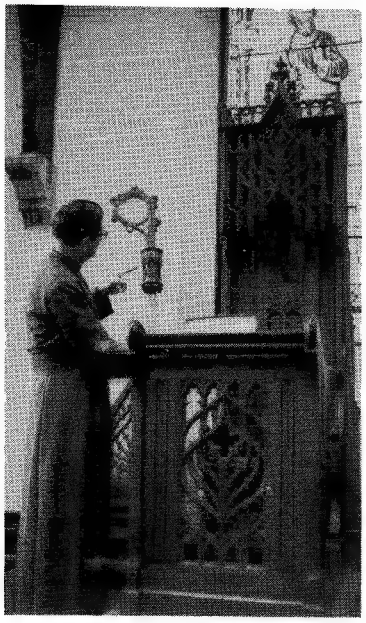
The original pulpit was simple, of pine, polygonal in shape and raised several steps above the chancel floor. It stood right against the north angle of the arch. It was replaced, probably soon after 1880, by the wrought iron pulpit that had originally served in the Shattuck chapel. Its blue-and-gold decor matched that of the gas-lamps. In 1902 the present stone pulpit was installed, along with the parapet and chancel steps — all a memorial to the Rev. and Mrs. Edward Clark Bill from their children. However, the pulpit was placed not where it now stands but closer to the center, dominating the so-called "Gospel side" of the chancel and blocking any view of the altar from many of the north pews. It stayed there for over three decades, until the renovations of 1934. (No



Top: *The font, by the west door.* Bottom left: *The Cathedral decorated for Christmas* circa *1920. The pulpit, which blocked the left side of the chancel for over thirty years, is less conspicuous because of all the greenery.*



[15]*Order* was misspelled *Ardour* in both Mrs. Theopold's notebook and in the *Chimes'* series on the Cathedral's history. *Order* here refers to Holy Orders -- *i.e.*, a ministry in succession to the Apostles.



Dean Hughes points to the crosier given to Henry Benjamin Whipple by the diocesan clergy in 1884. (At right is the "throne" installed in 1934.) Opposite page — top: *Detail of the crosier.* Below: *Whipple's* cathedra *or bishop's chair.*

wonder there was talk of putting in a brass-and-oak rood screen; it would have completed the effect, at least partly obscuring the view on the south side as well!) Notwithstanding, the pulpit is a dignified piece, restrained in its decoration except around the base. The matching parapet and steps serve to complement the great arch, setting off the chancel, as with a frame. The ensemble was designed by Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, the firm responsible for the tower. There are Latin inscriptions on the parapet, on both sides of the steps: *Ad gloriam Dei et in memoriam piam Edwardi Clark Bill cujus vox et vita hic Christum praedicabant. Bonum certamen certavi.* ("To the glory of God and in filial memory of Edward Clark Bill, whose voice and life here always preached Christ. 'I have fought the good fight.' " [II Tim. IV:7] *Ad gloriam Dei et in memoriam piam Elizabeth Hoyt Bill qua semper has portas in laetitia intrabeat. Fidem servavi.* ("To the glory of God and in filial memory of Elizabeth Hoyt Bill, who always used to enter these gates in joy. 'I have kept the faith.' " [II Tim. IV:7]

The original lectern, of pine like the pulpit, was "beautifully carved" by a man named Brown, a skilled woodworker who had come from Cleveland to Minnesota for his health. Little is known about Brown except that he did much of the interior finishing work. The lectern was his gift to the Cathedral. (Though few details of his life are remembered, his daughter, Margaretta Brown Byrde, became an unwitting contributor to this book: she was the early St. Mary's girl whose later reminiscences are so liberally quoted.) The present brass eagle lectern was given by Dr. Bill as a memorial to Cornelia Whipple. A number of medieval eagle lecterns are still used in England, and the Gothic Revival made eagles, whether of brass or wood, standard ecclesiastical hardware. Today they are almost ubiquitous in American Episcopal churches. The Cathedral's eagle, though, is especially fine.

The prie-dieu or litany desk at the head of the center aisle was used far more in the early days when the Litany was said regularly on Sunday mornings and also on Wednesdays and Fridays. With changing fashions, the Litany was eventually relegated to Lent, and it has only recently been revived at the Cathedral. Now, however, the preferred style in Faribault is to sing it in procession. The desk is still used, nonetheless: it holds the Gospel Book. The donor, Frank R. Millspaugh, an early graduate of Seabury ordained by Bishop Whipple in the Cathedral, served as Bishop of Kansas from 1895 until 1916. The desk is a memorial to Millspaugh's father, a vestryman of the Parish for 13 years.

The stalls just inside the chancel arch were added in 1902. Both have fine linen-fold carving on the seat-backs. The Dean's stall, on the south side, was given by the Second Mrs. Whipple in honor of George B. Whipple. On the prie-dieu in front of it is carved a versicle from the Prayer Book: "Endue thy ministers with righteousness." The opposite stall on the north side was originally called the Warden's stall — the Warden of the Divinity School used it. After Seabury moved, it became known as the Canon's stall; often Dr. Kramer or Dr. Palmer sat there. Though the Cathedral has several canons, none of them lives in Faribault, and so the name has been largely forgotten. The north stall was given in memory of Carrie Crossett Sheffield, "who loved the Church of God." Recently the Dean has occupied this stall, and the old Dean's stall is regularly used by a lay-reader.

Similar in proportions but far more elaborately carved is the "Bishop's Throne in the Choir," a memorial honoring Henry Benjamin Whipple and given by his niece, Miss Susan Salisbury. It was crafted by a Wisconsin firm, the Manitowoc Church Furniture Co. The seal of the Diocese was carved by Alois Lang, an artist with the firm who was trained at Oberammergau. The flame-like tracery on the front of the matching prie-dieu may be meant to symbolize the gifts of the Spirit. (It normally stays where it was originally placed, in front of the Kemper window; recently, however, it has become the practice to move it to the center of the chancel for the Easter Vigil.) Fastened to the desk is the crosier which Bishop Whipple received from the clergy of the Diocese on the 25th anniversary of his election. The Gothic details somewhat obscure the basically simple shape — a shepherd's crook. The circular design at the top contains semi-precious stones of various colors and encloses an IHC in silver. Just below is a collar with seven

niches, symbolic of the Bishop's episcopal lineage: it enshrines the names of Gregory the Great (who sent missionaries to England in 597), Augustine (the first Archbishop of Canterbury), Parker (Archbishop under Elizabeth I), Moore (Archbishop who passed the English succession on to the American Church in 1787), White (one of two "native" American bishops consecrated by Moore and others[16] — White was the first Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church), Kemper (the Church's first "missionary bishop", whose territory included Minnesota until 1859), and Whipple. The crosier is said to be "unique and of great value," and the Bishop of Minnesota often uses it when he is in Faribault.

Placed, when not in use, on the opposite side of the choir is the processional cross, given by Evangeline Whipple in 1899 to honor the fortieth anniversary of Bishop Whipple's election. The circle makes it a Celtic cross, and at the center is the Agnus Dei carrying a banner, symbolic of the Resurrection.

Two stone tablets are set into the north wall of the chancel. Next to the sacristy door, in white marble, is the Gear memorial. The illuminated lettering, in the style of a medieval manuscript, adds a bit of color. It was presented by Father Gear's grand-nephew.

"To the Glory of Almighty God and of His Christ and in memory of Ezekiel Gilbert Gear, priest of the Episcopal Church. Born in Middleton, Connecticut, on the 13th day of September, 1803. He came to the upper valley of the Mississippi as a missionary in 1836, where he served for many years in the founding of this Diocese. He departed this life at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on the 13th day of October, 1873, at which time he was the patriarch of the Church in this country, for of those who ministered at her altars when he was ordained, not one remained. His wife, Mary Yardley How, departed this life at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on the 18th day of October, 1892. This tablet, to assist in perpetuating their memory, is placed here in the Cathedral Church of Our Merciful Saviour, Faribault, Minnesota, by the eldest son of his niece, Mary Josephine Mason Remey, in the year of Our Lord, 1927."

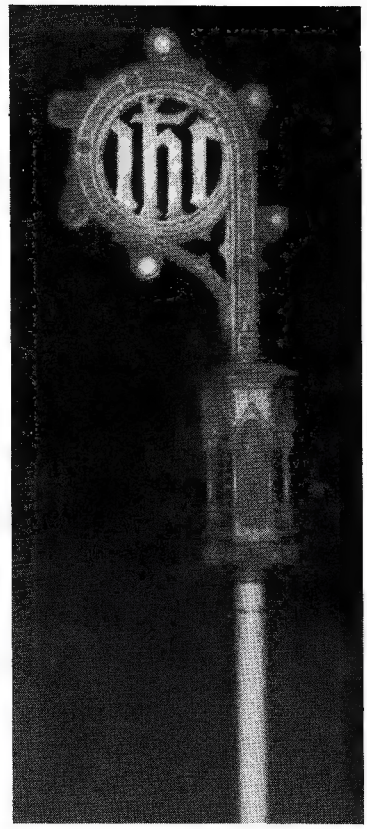
A tablet of polished gray marble with an inset bronze plate honors the achievements of Dr. Breck:

"In sacred memory of the Rev. James Lloyd Breck, D.D. Born June 27, 1818. Died March 30, 1876. The great pioneer missionary of the Northwest and founder of this Parish. His faith and zeal marked a new era in the missionary work of the Church. Nashotah, Faribault, Benicia are his memorial. The tablet is placed by the Bishop Seabury Mission, A.D. 1884."

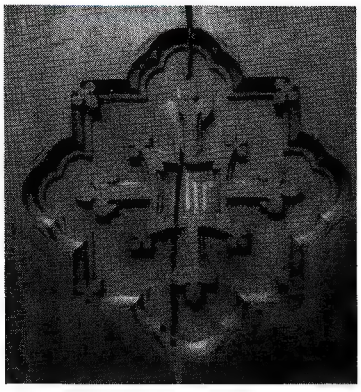
(Dr. Breck, it may be noted, has been accorded the nearest equivalent of sainthood available in the Episcopal Church: the 1979 Book of Common Prayer assigns him a day, April 2nd, in the Church's calendar. Only New Testament characters are referred to as "saints" by the Prayer Book; later heroes of faith are considered "worthies" in the Anglican tradition. Fewer than twenty Americans are included in the calendar — which shows the great esteem in which Breck is held throughout the Church; not even the great First Bishop of Minnesota has yet been given such an honor.)

The communion rail, supported by Gothic arches decorated with cusps, was given anonymously in memory of a son who "walked with GOD and was not, for GOD took him."

The Bishop's chair, still in its original spot on the north side of the altar, is possibly the oldest piece of furniture in the Cathedral itself. Its age is unclear because two bits evidence conflict. When Bishop Whipple described the Cathedral in 1869 he said, "The Bishop's chair will be the gift of the girls of St. Mary's Hall." *Will be* could suggest either that the chair had not yet been made or that it had not yet been paid for. Whipple made the statement two weeks before the consecration of the Cathedral; if he meant either of these things, one can only devoutly hope that it was finished and paid for by June 24, 1869 — for a cathedral without a *cathedra* would be quite an absurdity. The other evidence suggests that the Bishop's chair may pre-date the Cathedral, perhaps by several years. Anna Theopold in her Cathedral history notebook wrote that the chair "was brought from the old Parish Church of the Good Shepherd." (She was a daughter of Gordon Cole, one of the earliest members of the Parish, and thus she represented a link with the beginnings of the Church in Faribault.) A reference to the chair occurs in the *Democrat* in 1895: a replica was being made in Faribault for use by the new Bishop of Kansas, Frank Millspaugh, and the article mentioned incidentally that A.L. Hill had



"It is odd that White rather than Seabury was chosen, especially considering the prominence of the Seabury name in Faribault

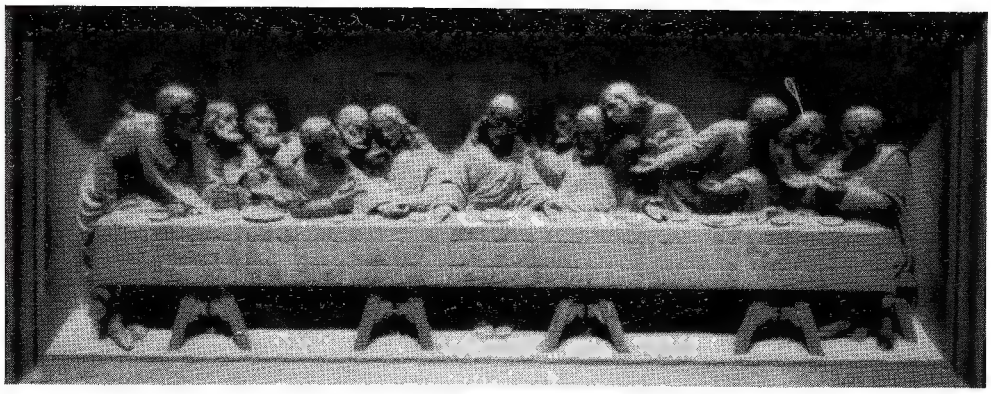


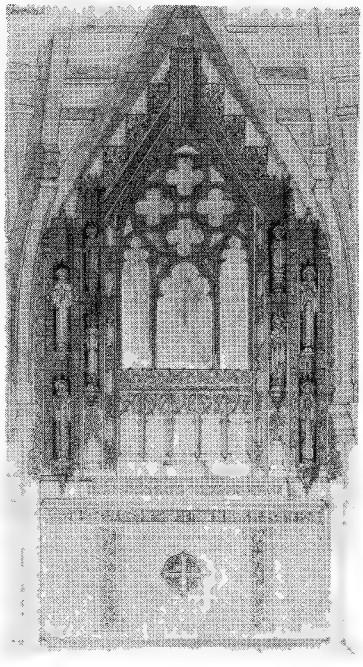
Top: *The carved panel on the front of the original pine altar.* Bottom right: *The altar and its appointments,* circa *1900, with a clear view of the gas-light candelabra. Except for the addition of candles on the altar itself, there was no change until 1934.*

made the original chair "nearly forty years ago." The figure is a round number but, if approximately right, might indicate that the chair existed even before Bishop Whipple's arrival. (Of course, if the chair had been around for some time, the Bishop's statement that it *will be* given by St. Mary's is rather strange.) If the chair *was* used in the old church, perhaps Minnesota had something of an "unofficial cathedral", so to speak, even before the cornerstone was laid on July 16, 1862. And it may just be that James Lloyd Breck was not speaking abstractly in 1867 — that he had this specific piece of furniture in mind — when he said, "It does not depend on what the seat is made of, whether [the Bishop] can be seated there." Whatever its exact history, it is the *real cathedra.* This chair is what makes this church a *cathedral.* Its symbolic importance for Faribault and and the Diocese — perhaps for the Episcopal Church — can hardly be over-estimated.

The original pine altar, now in the great hall of the Guild House, was given by "the lambs of the Parish of the Good Shepherd" — probably the Sunday School. It is simple in design and dignified in its proportions. "Solid" altars for some time had been replacing what Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio always insisted on — "an honest table with four legs" — so perhaps it is not especially significant that the Holy Table was in the new style. Besides heavy moldings around the base and top, its only decorations are carved panels, one on each end and one in the center. (The IHC on the front, unfortunately, is badly cracked, but it is obvious that the workmanship is fine, even though the design is not elaborate.) The Bishop referred to an "altar cloth" and said that its monogram was "wrought by a friend in England." Whether the cloth was a frontal or the traditional "fair linen" is unclear. (Later photographs, some as early as the 1880s show frontals.) Hinged to the back of the altar is a curious shelf: it is several inches lower than the table-top and can be folded down. There is a large circular water mark at the center, which suggests that potted plants were placed there. It is unclear whether this shelf was original or added later. It is also unclear whether a cross was used on the altar at first.[17] There is a simple carved wooden cross on display in one of the cases in the crypt passage, but it is usually identified with the original Parish Church. In connection with the Holy Table, Bishop Whipple mentioned the altar cloth, an "altar service of silver" donated by Miss Sarah Sanders of Albany, and alms basins made by a Dr. Gregory, "a sainted priest." He also spoke of a "book stand" (missal stand?) given by a mission Sunday School and of "the

[17]The "cross covered with flowers" on the altar at the consecration of the Cathedral may have been a floral arrangement in the shape of a cross. In the earliest known photograph of the interior, a cross is not plainly visible; however, the brightness of the altar window makes it difficult to determine what, if anything, was at the middle of the altar — all that is clear is the bookstand, set up for the priest to read standing at the north end (facing south) — a position still used in some "low" churches in England and Ireland. If there was no cross on the altar, it was probably a concession to promote peace in the Diocese. The Bishop apparently had no objection to their use — at least he later had a small one in his own private chapel.





Top left: *The carved central panel of the present stone altar installed in 1934.* Top right: *The altar cross.* Below: *Designer's sketch for the altar that wasn't built.*

Service books from an unknown friend" — but he says nothing at all about an altar cross. (Some churches used them, but they were often associated with "ritualism" — and altar candles were even more controversial.) The present brass cross, given by bequest from Dr. and Mrs. Bill "in memory of our children" in 1898, is the earliest one recorded. Its massive design suggests a Celtic cross, but instead of a circle there is a crown of thorns. For many years before 1934 a dossal hung behind the altar, covering the lower part of the Good Shepherd window and providing a background for the cross; now without such a curtain the cross, despite its size, is sometimes eclipsed. Two large candlesticks, a memorial to Dr. Bill, were also added in 1898, and candelabra were given later. But even before 1898 there were light-stands on both sides of the altar, a gift from Mrs. Bill. The effect must have been splendid:

They were nine feet high, of brass. The massive bases rested upon heavy claw feet. The main shaft was surrounded by three smaller shafts, each ending in a fleur-de-lis, three feet from the floor. The top was a graceful arrangement of fifteen gas candles on each standard, in groups of three, rising in the form of a pyramid, with the fleur-de-lis delicately entwined.[18]

A pale glimmering remains: in 1934 the standards were lowered and all the gas-fixtures removed — now instead of thirty lights there are two.

The present altar, of Bedford stone, is quietly impressive. The old arrangement was more dramatic, with colorful embroidered seasonal hangings and masses of flickering lights. The front of the stone altar is left bare for good reason — it contains a bas-relief of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper,* carved by M. Baruche of Mankato in Tennessee marble. As communicants kneel at the rail, this visible reminder of the first Eucharist is before their eyes. The altar is a memorial from Evangeline Whipple in honor of the First Bishop of Minnesota. Originally it was to have been of marble.

The Chapel and the Crypt

St. Elizabeth's Chapel, added to the Cathedral in 1934, incorporates the furnishings and some of the structural details of Bishop Whipple's private "oratory" in the old See House. (The arched ceiling either preserves the original beams or duplicates them.) The only change in plan is that the Bishop had the pews arranged "choir-wise." The front of the altar contains a monogram carved by a St. Mary's girl. The small altar cross, of burnished brass, is adorned with the traditional symbols of the four Evangelists. The mahogany chair, said to be Chippendale, belonged to Bishop White of Pennsylvania and was given by one of his descendants to Whipple. The triptych on the altar-shelf is a copy, 31 inches high, of Fra Angelico's *Virgin and Child,* the original of which is in the Uffizi, Florence. Evangeline Whipple brought this likeness and those of the five angels from Italy. The only addition to the chapel since 1934 is the ambry set in the north wall. Former Dean Littleford recalls that Bishop Keeler "almost experienced apoplexy" when he learned the Sacrament was being reserved at the Cathedral. For some years the ambry was empty, but its use has been revived recently, making it easier for the sick to receive Communion regularly. The chapel is used for small week-day services.

In the porch that connects the Cathedral and St. Elizabeth's Chapel are two items of special interest, both on the south wall. The large portrait of Bishop Whipple is really

[18] Mrs. Theopold's description in her notebook.

Left: *The Elizabeth of Hungary window in the Chapel, given by Bishop Whipple in memory of his parents.* Right: *The altar in the Chapel, with some of the copies of Renaissance paintings the Second Mrs. Whipple acquired in Italy.* Opposite page: *the facade of the organ as it appeared until 1987. (Note fake, non-speaking pipes that fill in gap near the peak of the arch.) The picture was taken in the late '50s.*

a painted photograph. The picture was taken in 1889, when the Bishop was awarded an honorary LL.D. by Oxford University. (When new glass was put in the frame in 1986, another portrait was discovered, on the back of Whipple's: it was of an unknown woman holding a rather disheveled-looking little dog — and obviously she hadn't cared for the picture, for her face was blotted out. Rather than waste a good large board, the photographer-artist simply turned it over and used the other side for Whipple's picture.) To the left is a small bronze plaque in honor of two Native Americans especially beloved by Whipple:

In sacred memory of Enmegahbowh the Chippewa and Good Thunder the Sioux, loyal friends of the great First Bishop of Minnesota, both nobly serving their people within his Diocese, one as a Presbyter, the other as Senior Warden of Birch Coulee, and both bowing before the Great Spirit as revealed in Christ Jesus, in whom they have peace.

There is no record of this inscription before 1934, and Charles Slattery died in 1930, but the words bear the marks of his style. Two other items in the porch may be of interest. Along the east wall is a section of the original choir stalls, so-called because of the dividers between the seats. The handsome console beneath the Bishop's portrait is noteworthy for what it is not: it is *not* a piece from the Whipple dining room — it is a fine, heavy buffet from the old Grant mansion.

The room in the basement directly below the chapel contains a large bed that belonged to the Bishop. According to local lore, he was so tall that when he slept in it he had to lie diagonally. There is also a screen from the old St. Lucas Hospital; its frame was constructed from pieces of woodwork salvaged from the Seabury campus. On the west wall of the passage leading to the Bishop's crypt are display cabinets built by Donald Roosmalen, a member of the Cathedral Parish: all manner of memorabilia are kept in them.

The final resting place of Bishop Whipple is utterly plain. Behind a wrought iron grille is a sarcophagus of Bedford stone, resembling an altar, on top of which stand the wooden cross that once adorned the old Church of the Good Shepherd and two seven-branched candelabra. For many years it has been customary to celebrate the Holy Communion there on September 16, the day on which the Bishop died.

The Organ

The Cathedral had to get by without an organ for the first two years after its consecration — or, if there was an organ, it was the harmonium given to the Parish of the Good Shepherd in 1858 by a man from Philadelphia. The sound made by a little reed organ in so large a space would hardly have inspired singing. The new instrument was installed in June, 1871 — over two months later than promised — and it was played for the first time publicly at a great missionary service on June 18. Professor Gutterson, Faribault's best musician, presided over the keyboard. The visiting dignitaries included the respective secretaries of the Domestic Board and the Foreign Board of the National Church, and if they were not duly impressed, at least the *Faribault Republican* was. Even before installation was finished, the paper had reported that the organ would be "of full Cathedral scale, and much more powerful than an ordinary one with the same number of stops." But when he heard it, the reporter waxed rhapsodic:

The builder's success has been reached in the "swell" which is fine and delicate, yet powerful in quality, producing a thrilling effect as it commences like the low whispering of a harmony in the far-off distance and approaches nearer and nearer until it breaks with a bewildering flood of richness and grandeur upon the ear. The case is new style, being almost entirely of polychrome pipes.[19]

The instrument had two "manuales", 18 stops (19 ranks and a total of 992 pipes; the *Coronet* had two pipes for each note). Two ranks were 16 ft., ten 8 ft., three 4 ft., three 2-2/3 ft., and one 2 ft. "Mechanicals" included three couplers, a "tremola", and a "bellows alarm", apparently a signal for the pumper. The two keyboards and the pedals were attached to the facade, so the organist faced south. The instrument "complete as packed for transportation" weighed 8500 pounds, and the cost was $4000 — $500 over the original price.

The builder was John Gale Marklove of Utica, N.Y. — a very respectable manufacturer, if not quite famous like Johnson or Hook. According to the centennial book of the Organ Historical Society, Marklove was a "well-educated, well-trained Englishman with a passion for good workmanship and a love of good music [who] was one of the most important figures among the upstate organ builders."[20] During a career of 33 years he is believed to have built 154 organs, about 25 of which are still intact as *tracker* instruments. He started building in 1854, and since Utica is not far from Rome, where Henry Benjamin Whipple was then rector of Zion Church, it is certainly possible that the young minister had either made Marklove's acquaintance or heard some of his instruments. Marklove's Faribault organ is certainly not his largest — he built several with three manuals; it is almost exactly the size of an 1873 instrument said to be typical of Marklove's middle years. Most of his installations were in New York State and New England, but he was represented here and there in Ohio and Indiana — in fact, he designed an organ for a church in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. He built in a conservative style. At least one of his small organs, still pumped by hand, has recently been used very successfully in concerts with "ancient" instruments (recorders and viola di gamba).

In 1981 — one hundred ten years after the Cathedral organ was first played — the decision was made to restore and somewhat enlarge it. Charles Hendrickson of St. Peter, Minn., was chosen to do the work. Gregory S. Larsen, a son of the Parish and also organist and choirmaster of St. John the Evangelist, St. Paul, who had served with the organ committee, volunteered to consult periodically with the builder throughout the project. As Hendrickson discovered, a lot had happened:

Of the original 19 ranks from 1871, all or a majority of the pipes from 12 ranks survive. A few other pipes from 2 more ranks are still in the organ. ... The original facade of the organ was added to. ... The pipes in the outside flats have roman mouths and a different construction from the original pipes in the central flat and two round towers. The added pipes are fakes. ... Some of the 110 year old pipes are in excellent condition, while others are in poor shape and will require careful restoration. No original mechanism survives.

History may not have been kind to Marklove's instrument, but major changes came fairly late. In the first fifty years what damage there was developed from insufficient maintenance, not "modern improvements." From today's perspective, the Cathedral's perennial money problem was, in this case, really a blessing in disguise. The

[19]June 21, 1871, p. 1; layers of gold paint were removed from an original facade pipe during restoration, revealing decoration in blue, red, and silver-leaf. The meaning of a "new style" case is not explained — indeed there never was an organ *case*: the organ chamber served as a "case." Most of Marklove's instruments had traditional wooden cases, and perhaps the very absence of a case was what the reporter meant by "new style", for it was becoming commonplace to put pipes in little rooms instead of wooden cases.

[20]From a publication of the Organ Historical Society; information supplied by Charles Hendrickson.

Top: *John Gale Marklove, who built the organ in 1871.* Below: *Charles Hendrickson, who restored and enlarged it.*

'Seated One Day at the Organ–'

"It was a rainy fall afternoon, as I recall. A junior in high school, I'd been taking piano lessons since I was eight, but had set those aside for the majesty of the organ. I was a student of Marie Levering, the Cathedral organist, and almost every day after school I was at the church practicing in my stocking feet.

"I was not, by any stretch of the imagination, gifted or inspired. At the piano I was sweaty-palmed. 'Practice or else,' mother threatened. The organ was different. I found it forgiving and gentle, with a deep and abiding resonance that reached my very soul.

"The afternoon I remember after all these years, I was playing my assigned pieces and a little jazz as well. The church and the offices were dark and empty; the only light was in the chancel, on my music.

"When the arched west doors opened, I took notice instantly. A gentleman appeared with an unmistakable presence. He was wearing a long black cape that went down to the tops of his knee-high boots. His britches had buttons, and his shirt with the clerical collar was formal white. He walked right down the aisle toward me, his black cape flying behind him. He was escorted by another man.

"I stopped playing as soon as I saw that cape, the sounds of my music hanging in the air. I hid my stocking feet and sat frozen to the bench.

"Before they came up the stairs, I was introduced:

'Hello, I would like to introduce the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher.'

'Dear God, why wasn't I playing a Bach cantata!'

'Please don't stop,' the Archbishop said. 'I love the sound of the organ. Play whatever you like. We're going to tour the Cathedral and the crypt.'

I played a two-or-three note melody from every page in the hymnal I knew. The memory of his visit and the forgiveness of that magnificent organ have been with me over thirty years.

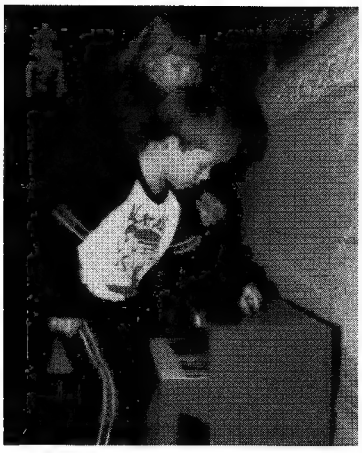
— Sere Fleckenstein Grimshaw

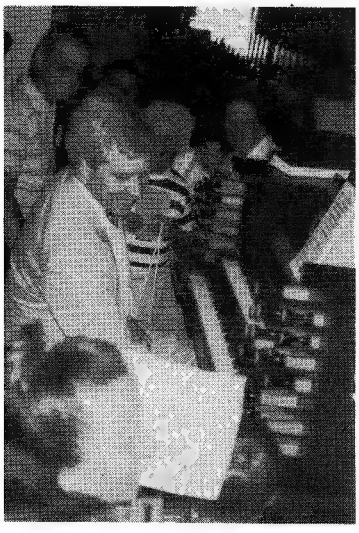
first modification, in 1920, was fundamental, but the congregation probably noticed very little difference in sound. Up to this time the original mechanical or "tracker" action had served well, but the choirmaster, Herbert Morris, wanted to move the console to the north side of the chancel — which would have necessitated installing electrical connections, a change more expensive than the Cathedral could afford. Finally a compromise was hit upon: for $3000 the J.S. Austin Co. of Minneapolis (not to be confused with the nationally-known Austin organ firm) replaced Marklove's trackers with a new Kimball "full tubular pneumatic action", extended the keyboards from 58 to 61 notes, installed a crescendo pedal (which would automatically engage extra sets of pipes when depressed), and added one rank — a salicional "of modern string voicing." Since a new console was beyond the means of the Parish, Morris continued to face south. Renovation in the Cathedral fabric in 1934 included some changes in the organ, and the console was moved. In 1943 the instrument was essentially rebuilt, with new chests and a new console, a memorial to Bishop McElwain. Some pipes were added, some were put to new uses and given new names, some were disconnected, and apparently some were discarded. The 1943 organ was a smaller, less-vigorous instrument with four fewer stops, five fewer ranks, and about 260 fewer pipes than the original. Remodeling in the 1950s did not essentially rectify the situation. Sometime during the '60s the organ developed a characteristic wobbling sound, and by the late '70s it was becoming mechanically unreliable.

Simply to start over might have been easier and cheaper — some organ builders had suggested that. Nevertheless, there were other considerations. Hendrickson had

1871 Specifications	New Specifications
GREAT (58 notes, C-a: 9 stops & ranks)	GREAT (58 notes, C-a: 11 stops, 13 ranks)
Open Diapason 8 ft.	Open Diapason 8 ft. — *all original pipes*
Dulciana 8 ft.	Dulciana 8 ft. — *all original pipes*
Melodia 8 ft. (wood)	Melodia 8 ft. — *all original pipes*
Principal 4 ft.	Principal 4 ft. — *all original pipes*
Flute 4 ft. (wood)	Flute 4 ft. — *all original pipes*
Twelfth 2 2/3 ft. (*eventually lost*)	Twelfth 2 2/3 ft. — *new pipes with original scaling*
Fifteenth 2 ft. (*eventually lost*)	Fifteenth 2 ft. — *new pipes with original scaling*
	Mixture 1 1/3 ft. — *3 ranks of new pipes*
	Tierce 1 3/5 ft. — *new pipes*
Clarionet 8 ft. (t.c.)	Clarionet 8 ft. — *original pipes plus new treble*
Trumpet 8 ft.	Trumpet 8 ft. — *original pipes plus new trebles*
SWELL (58 notes, C-a: 7 stops, 8 ranks, enclosed)	SWELL (58 notes, C-a: 12 stops, 16 ranks, enclosed)
Bourdon 16 ft. (stopped wood)	Bourdon 16 ft. — *original pipes 1-30, replacements for trebles*
Open Diapason 8 ft.	Open Diapason 8 ft. — *original pipes 13-48, others old pipes*
Viol da Gamba 8 ft.	Viol da Gamba 8 ft. — *original pipes 13-40, others old pipes*
Stopped Diapason 8 ft.	Stopped Diapason 8 ft. — *all original pipes*
	Viol Celeste 8 ft. — *new pipes*
Principal 4 ft. (*eventually lost, except 1-5 transferred to Gt. Open 8 ft.*)	Principal 4 ft. — *original pipes 1-5, all others old pipes*
	Piccolo 2 ft. — *new pipes*
Cornet 2 2/3 ft. (t.c.) — *2 ranks of pipes (eventually lost, except 12 pipes transferred to Trumpet)*	Cornet 2 2/3 ft. — *2 ranks of new pipes*
	Mixture — *4 ranks of new pipes*
	Bassoon 16 ft. — *new pipes*
	Clarion 4 ft. — *new pipes*
Bassoon 8 ft. (*eventually lost*)	Hautboy 8 ft. — *new pipes*
PEDAL (27 notes, CCC-D: 2 stops, 2 ranks)	PEDAL (30 notes, CCC-F: 6 stops, 6 ranks)
Double Open Diapason 16 ft. (open wood)	Double Open Diapason 16 ft. — *original pipes 1-25, others old pipes*
	Bourdon 16 ft. — *old pipes (stopped wood)*
	Quint 10 2/3 ft. — *old pipes (stopped wood)*
Violoncello 8 ft. (*eventually lost, except 1-12 apparently transferred to Swell Open 8 ft.*)	Violoncello 8 ft. — *original pipes 1-12, others old pipes*
	Principal 4 ft. — *old pipes*
	Trombone 16 ft. — *new pipes (full length conical wood)*
MECHANICALS	MECHANICALS
Couplers:	Couplers:
Great to Pedal	Great to Pedal
Swell to Pedal	Swell to Pedal
Swell to Great	Swell to Great
	Composition foot-pedals:
	Great *forte*
	Swell *forte*
	Great *piano*
	Swell *piano*
18 stops, 19 ranks, 992 pipes	29 stops, 35 ranks, 1820 pipes (564 original, 436 other old pipes, 820 new); wind pressure — Great & Swell 87mm, Pedal 100mm.

Top: *Hendrickson with a model of the organ, at his shop in St. Peter.* Below: *The facade pipes, redecorated in 1987 by Bucky Roosmalen according to the original design.*





Top: *The Sunday School worked to contribute "a mile of pennies" to the organ restoration fund.* Below: *Greg Larsen at the new console, with happy parishioners looking on. (Greg is smiling at a little boy about to crawl in amongst the pedals.)*

studied many old instruments in the Midwest, and there were some aspects of the Cathedral organ that he found to be extremely interesting:

... So far I have not found an organ in Minnesota with the original facade in its original location which is older than yours. ... No church in Minnesota has so many pipes that are so old.

And he was optimistic that something very like the sounds first heard in 1871 could be experienced again:

Because extensive research on Marklove has been done, and the scaling, voicing, and style of construction are known, it will be possible to recreate the original organ specification. No reproduction is ever completely faithful, but the majority of the original sounds of the organ can be approximated.

A stop-list was arrived at and the cost determined — $155,000. By late 1986 more than enough money had been raised, yet the "new" instrument was *still* not finished, a year-and-a-half overdue. A major bequest from Harry Smith had set the effort in motion, but parishioners and friends contributed well over $90,000. Even the Sunday School got involved, hoping to accumulate "a mile of pennies." A bank in the form of a small organ was placed in front of the parapet, and the children regularly came forward during the offertory, adding the jingling of their coins to the choir's anthem. The new Kawai grand piano, provided through bequests from Glenn Wilson and Ruth Chappuie, served as the principal instrument between January, 1986, and August, 1987, when the rebuilt organ was installed. The piano would add considerable variety and flexibility to the Cathedral's music in the future — indeed, considering changes in the style of church music since the late '50s, one had been needed for years.

The restoration work by Charles Hendrickson aimed at saving all of the 1871 Marklove instrument that could be saved and at making additions *in the Marklove manner* that would provide greater flexibility. It had been hoped that original pipes from Marklove organs no longer in use could be purchased and included in the Cathedral organ, but this proved impossible; compatible pipes from other vintage instruments, however, were incorporated. Hendrickson's design particularly augmented the pedal division and added brightness with mixtures in the great and swell. The original facade was preserved, and wood from the old swell box — chestnut — was used for the new console. Like the 1871 instrument, the restored organ has a tracker action, and it is estimated that there are about twenty thousand working parts; but unlike the original, the new instrument has a reversed console — the organist faces towards the center of the chancel, not with his or her back to the choir. Part of the great was ready by late June, 1987, and was played at the Indian Convocation. The organ's first use at a regular Cathedral service occurred on August 9 when Greg Larsen demonstrated its possibilities. Philip Brunelle, organist at Plymouth Congregational Church, Minneapolis, played the dedicatory recital on September 13. A virtuoso performer and conductor, but better known for appearances on "The Prairie Home Companion," Brunelle was born in Faribault — and stayed less than a week. (It happened that Faribault had the nearest hospital.) His recital showed the organ's versatility — from Bach to French Romantic, from vintage American to contemporary[20], all climaxing with a rollicking rendition of Ives' "Variations on *America*."

The Bells

Living in a time when electronic "carillons" ring out in stereo from even the humblest steeples, it is perhaps difficult really to appreciate *the real thing* — or even to imagine what the people of Faribault must have felt when they heard the Cathedral bells for the first time on November 2, 1902. There are very few full-sized carillons in the United States — and even though the Cathedral's peal of ten bells is not, strictly speaking, large enough to be termed a carillon,[21] nevertheless it is a rare treasure. In Faribault the bells have been called *chimes* ever since they were hung, and that usage was probably perpetuated by the name associated so long with the parish magazine, the *Cathedral Chimes*. The word is sometimes limited to tubular chimes, but that is a mistake. It is especially appropriate to use it with bells that do not swing when rung —and since the bells in the tower are fixed in place, *chimes* is quite correct. The earliest report used the phrase "a *chime* of ten bells."

[20]Including a piece by James Melby, organist at the Cathedral while a St. Olaf student in the mid-'60s. (Before the recital, Brunelle had been aware of Melby's Faribault connection.

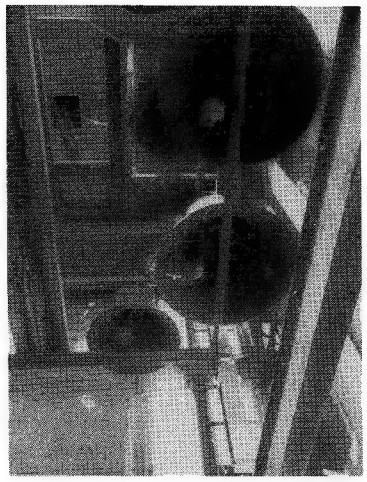
[21]The word *carillon* comes from a Latin word meaning a set of four: the earliest "carillons" were four or more small bells in a row, arranged to be struck by hand. Now twelve bells in a full chromatic octave are considered necessary for the most minimal carillon, and usually at least two full octaves.

Bells designed to be played as a set are tuned in one of two ways, depending on the type of music to be produced. The English prefer "change-ringing," *i.e.*, ringing all the possible mathematical permutations; those who have read Dorothy Sayers' mystery novel *The Nine Tailors* are familiar with that art-form. The Europeans, on the other hand, prefer hearing melodies and even harmony on their large carillons — and the bells must be tuned slightly differently. The Cathedral bells are tuned in the European manner. Not just any melody can be played on them, however. The compass is chromatic, one octave in the key of C major with two additional notes, B-flat and D above the upper C. A surprising variety of songs can be played, but three or four more bells would open up many more possibilities. A couple of illustrations: *Onward, Christian Soldiers* — one of the few hymn-tunes everybody knows — *almost* works in the key of C; but there is no F-sharp for the "be-" in "going on *be*fore" in the fourth phrase. *The Church's One Foundation* works in the key of C, except for the next-to-the-last note. This hymn gets played often on the chimes, but the effect can be quite strange when the player reaches the last two notes. "And for her life" uses the very lowest bells, C-C-D-C, and then for "He died" there's the startling jump to *high* B-natural and C! A low B would help a lot. So would a high E. Anna Theopold remembered that Evangeline Whipple, soon after she had given the bells, wanted to have a concert of patriotic music that the whole town could enjoy. *Dixie* was performed on that occasion, and there are no fewer than six high E's if the tune is played in C — the only key that will work at all. (*Jesus Christ is Ris'n Today* needs that E too.) One wonders whether Mrs. Whipple didn't regret that the compass wasn't larger. Unfortunately, some of the best-loved hymns — most of which are Victorian — have too many sharps or flats. Yet many, many tunes will work: *Praise God From Whom All Blessings Flow* (in F, not G), *O God, Our Help in Ages Past* (in B-flat — luckily E-flat isn't needed), the "old" tune of *Jesus Calls Us, O'er the Tumult* (which Dean Slattery loved to play), and *Ye Watchers and Ye Holy Ones* are just a few examples. Luckily a great many Yuletide carols are perfect, though *I Heard the Bells on Christmas Day* would be disastrous.

Many of the largest English bells have names, like "Great Tom" at Oxford and "Great Harry" at Canterbury; and a few American bells do too. (The name "Big John" has a western ring to it — just right for the Cathedral in Spokane.) The Faribault Cathedral bells lack names but they do have inscriptions:

1. *Low C* has the same long epigraph as is on the tablet beside the tower door. (The wording is given near the end of Chapter V.)
2. *D* — "We praise Thee, O God: we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord."
   — from the *Te Deum*
3. *E* — "For the Lord is a great God, and a great King above all gods."
   — from the *Venite*
4. *F* — "Let us come before His presence with thanksgiving, and show ourselves glad in Him with psalms."
   — from the *Venite*
5. *G* — "O praise the Lord, for it is a good thing to sing praises unto our God; yea, a joyful and pleasant thing it is to be thankful."
   — from Psalm CXXXV
6. *A* — "O clap your hands together, all ye people; O sing praises unto God with the voice of melody."
   — from Psalm XLVII
7. *B-flat* — "O praise the Lord with me; and let us magnify His Name together."
   — from Psalm XXXIV
8. *B* — "O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise Him and magnify Him forever."
   — from the *Benedicite Omnia Opera*
9. *C* — "The eternal God is thy refuge; and underneath are the everlasting arms."
   — Deuteronomy XXXIII: 27
10. *D* — "And blessed be the Name of His Majesty; and let everyone of us say, Amen, Amen."
    — from Psalm LXXII

Altogether the Whipple memorial bells weigh 23,000 pounds, and the low C weighs 5000 pounds. They were cast by the McShane Bell Foundry of Baltimore.



Each of the bells carries an inscription.

The original Cathedral bell, which had been cast in 1869 and arrived in Faribault only days before the consecration, was installed in the new tower at the same time as the Whipple bells were. Unlike them, it swings and is rung with a rope. (Several of the older members of the Cathedral recall how that choir boys pulling the rope on Sunday mornings would be lifted off the floor.) The old bell became known as the "tolling bell", but its use is not limited to funerals — it is regularly rung before services. The inscription reads:

"Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth"
[Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts]
The Rt. Rev. Henry B. Whipple
First Bishop of Minnesota
Ordained and Consecrated at Richmond, Virginia
October 13, A.D. 1859

This bell was cast by the McNelly Bell Foundry of West Troy, N.Y. (Today West Troy is called Watervliet.) During the Civil War the McNelly brothers had split over the issue of slave labor, so there were two McNelly bell-works, one at West Troy, the other at Troy. According to James Doyle and Estel King, craftsmen who worked on renovating the tower in 1963, this family feud continued until 1952, when both foundries had to shut down — all the bell metal was needed for military purposes in Korea. Neither foundry re-opened: it was now cheaper to import bells from Europe.[22]

By the early 1960s it was obvious that major work would need to be done in the tower. Paul Onkka still remembers a property committee meeting in the belfry when Cecil Vanderpool demonstrated with a screw-driver how rotten the oak timbers were that the old tolling bell hung from. The steel framework that replaced the timbers and the related expenses of refurbishing the bells amounted to $7000. (The donors to the project are listed on a plaque near the tower door.) At the time some consideration was given to installation of an automatic ringing mechanism operated by a timer, but it proved to be too expensive.

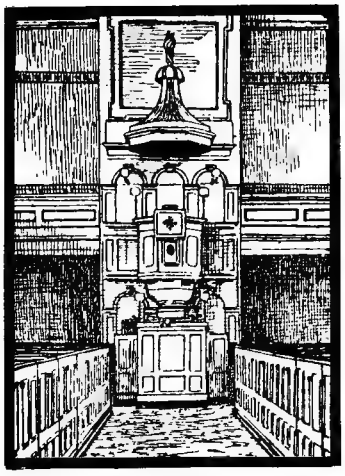
Many have played the chimes throughout the years. The first one to play tunes on them was the organist, George Whitney, and Anna Theopold remembered one hot Fourth of July "when the community was startled by hearing the rollicking notes of *Yankee Doodle* come tumbling out from the Cathedral chimes." Minnie White was "carilloneuse" (as Dean Littleford liked to call her) for many years. Leonard McDowell also served a long incumbency. Recently Donald S. Wafler has been in charge, not only frequently playing the bells himself by also scheduling others — especially for the weekdays of Advent, Christmastide, Lent, and Easter Week. Often the acolytes ring the bells after Sunday morning service, "following the numbers" in hymn-tunes that Mr. Wafler has transposed and transcribed. (Low C = 1, D = 2, etc., corresponding to the number on the levers that ring the bells.) *Holy, Holy, Holy* begins: 1 1 3 3 5 5 / 6 6 6 5

A Prayer for Those Who Hear the Cathedral Bells

O Eternal God, who hast ordered this wondrous world so that things animate and inanimate shall extol thy holy Name, graciously receive the praise of the bells within the Bishop's Tower. Grant that our hearts may echo the adoration which they are now sounding forth; grant that discouraged souls, hearing their joyous pealing, may be brave again; grant that the sick and weary, also hearing, may join in heart and mind with the faithful worshippers in thy House; above all, grant that the disobedient and indifferent may hear through their sound the voice of thy Son, bidding them come to thee. O Lord, grant that these bells may minister to our salvation even while they are ringing thy praises, through the joy of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

—composed by Dean Slattery in 1902; handsomely printed and framed, the prayer hangs just outside the staircase that leads to the room where the bells are played.

[22]Information on a strav piece of paper left in Mrs. Theopold's notebook; the writer did not sign his or her name.



A colonial three-decker pulpit in Philadelphia — the type James Lloyd Breck knew in his childhood.

WORSHIP THROUGH THE YEARS

From the beginning the Seabury Mission offered up the full round of the Church's worship — Morning and Evening Prayer every day of the week, the Litany on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and the Holy Communion every Sunday (at noon) and on holy days. In the earliest years of the Diocese, only the Mission seems to have offered *weekly* Sunday Communion. The same schedule of services continued to be observed during the first years of the Cathedral — indeed, Bishop Whipple emphasized in his sermon at the consecration of the Davenport Cathedral in 1873 that one of the reasons a cathedral exists at all is to offer *daily* worship.

To attempt to reconstruct what Episcopal worship was like in the early days at Faribault, it is necessary to examine what it had been like even earlier, for the 1850s and '60s marked the beginning of profound change. Not that the *words* changed — the same Prayer Book authorized in 1789 was still being used, and would be until 1892. What was changing was the *way* services were being performed.

James Lloyd Breck, in his farewell sermon at the 1867 Diocesan Convention, drew a detailed picture of what worship had been like in the days of his youth in Pennsylvania.[23] Services were long. There was little congregational participation, despite the fact that the Prayer Book was supposed to encourage *common* prayer. A "clerk" often read the people's parts for them. There was little music. At first only a few hymns had been sanctioned — generally metrical versions of the psalms; later non-Biblical hymns were allowed, but these tended to come from Methodist and Baptist sources — among Protestants, great traditional chants like the *Magnificat* and the *Te Deum* were virtually extinct.[24] The Holy Communion was celebrated at Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and perhaps two or three other days during the year — even though the "Ante-Communion" (the service up to and including the offertory) was typically said every Sunday. The number of communicants was small.

Church architecture reflected these practices. Just as Morning Prayer/Litany/Sermon/Ante-Communion tended to minimize the Eucharist, so did the "three-decker" pulpit dwarf the Communion table. Many churches were spartan, and even the fancier ones were usually devoid of stained glass and religious symbolism, including crosses and altar candles. Flowers were seldom used for decorations, even at Christmas and Easter.

Some of this had begun to change about 1840, when Breck was beginning his ministry. The Oxford Movement and the Gothic Revival — both in some ways related to the pervasive Romanticism — looked to the past for inspiration, the first to the Early ("Primitive") Church, the second to the Middle Ages. Probably the man most influential in changing Episcopal worship was the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg, and he is important in the Cathedral's story because he was Breck's mentor.[25] Muhlenberg, partly out of a desire to reach the working classes, had experimented with ways to make the services of the Prayer Book more appealing. He emphasized music, used flowers and other seasonal decorations, introduced liturgical color and symbolism (including pictures, crosses, and candles). From the beginning, his Church of the Holy Communion, New York City, had a simple altar as its central focus. Such innovations naturally caused controversy. The famous "Muhlenberg Memorial" which he first proposed to the House of Bishops in 1853 — a measure that would have encouraged "as much freedom in opinion, discipline, and worship as is compatible with the essential faith and order of the Gospel" — never got very far with the hierarchy.[26]

Breck introduced many of Muhlenberg's practices at Faribault, as he had in his earlier missions. But Breck was allied with the *earlier* Anglo-Catholic movement, and it would be a mistake to assume that he used incense or a chasuble or any of the sort of "advanced" ceremonies so often associated with *later* forms of the movement.[27] Bishop Whipple later called Breck "the most rubrical of Churchmen" — *i.e.*, Breck followed every rule in the Prayer Book to the letter. Not surprisingly, he expected everyone else to follow along too, to participate in services actively. At first he "lined out" the people's responses and explained what each part meant. Especially he taught children to sing hymns and chants. Breck must have read the Prayer Book and the Scriptures

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[23]See C. Breck, pp. 536-555 for the full sermon.

[24]"Gospel hymns" were suspect because they were believed to encourage "enthusiasm" — literally, being "filled with a god," which George Berkeley, an 18th-century philosopher and Irish Anglican bishop, once called "a horrid thing." Enthusiasm in that era meant extremes of religious fervor. About the only canticle used was the "Old Scottish Chant" *Gloria*, and it is still well-known today. Many of the hymns now considered "old favorites" were not in the hymnal section of the Prayer Book used in the early years of the Cathedral -- indeed, many of today's "old favorites" had not even been written!

[25]Muhlenberg influenced Breck in a number of ways. Muhlenberg started the first sisterhood in the American Church, and it became the first religious order. While at Muhlenberg's Flushing Institute — probably the first Episcopal boarding school in America -- Breck almost took a vow of celibacy; he was only 14 or 15, and apparently Muhlenberg dissuaded him. Breck considered Muhlenberg to be his "spiritual father" and "the real founder of Nashotah House." Each of Breck's major undertakings -- Nashotah Faribault, and Benicia -- was inaugurated with a service at

continued ...

3 / 5 5 5 5 9 8 5 2 5 6 5 5 ... (Obviously the ringer has to know the rhythm of the song.) Visitors touring the Cathedral are often fascinated by seeing the bells played. (Frances Wassmann likes to demonstrate with *America*.) Children, especially, are eager to try out the levers for themselves.

The bells have rung out joy on many festive occasions. For many years they were played at 6 o'clock every Christmas and Easter morning. They have announced the end of at least three wars. When American hostages were released by Iran in 1981, Don Wafler rang the low C 52 times, once for each one freed — and then, because he felt so happy, he rang the bell another 52 times! For good measure, he added several hymns and patriotic songs. He had listened to the radio all night long to hear the announcement. It came at 9:55 a.m.

Above: *Bishop Keeler greets Minnie White in 1954.* Left: *Don Wafler, up in the belfry, pulls the tolling bell rope.* (Faribault Daily News *photo)*

Bishop Whipple & the Prayer Book

I love the Book of Common Prayer for its simple, fervent piety, for its clear, ringing outspoken declaration of the great central truth of the Incarnation, and because it is everywhere full of the blessed doctrine of justification alone by the mercies of our Lord Jesus Christ. I love it because it everywhere breathes a spirit of tenderness and pity for the erring, while its warnings are plain and heart-searching, and it everywhere sets forth Christ crucified as the only hope of lost and sinful men. It holds, and it teaches in unmistakable language the great truths, but it does not bear the impress of any party. If its language has been pressed to the verge of partisan spirit, it has only shared the fate of the blessed Word of God. There never has been a liturgy broader in its spirit, more spiritual in its teaching, or clearer in its declaration of Christian doctrine. It does not attempt to define or explain what God has not explained, and those doctrines over which men wrangle the most fiercely are here set forth in the very language of the Word of God. I find in this my greatest comfort. I would not dare to use the language of any man to set forth the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, but I can with an unfaltering voice use the language which the Saviour places upon my lips, and leave the deep spiritual meaning to Him.

—from *The Churchman's Scrap Book* (1880; the copy at the Cathedral belonged to the Rev. George B. Whipple

Ritual in the 1860s and 70s

'Father Gear was born in Connecticut, and belonged to the school of Bishop Hobart. James Lloyd Breck was trained in the school of Dr. Muhlenberg at Flushing, and while in the seminary was influenced by the Oxford Movement and the study of the Primitive Church. Mr. Wilcoxson was born and bred in the Diocese which held to the traditions of Bishop Seabury. Manney was a graduate of the General Seminary and an ardent admirer of Bishop Whittingham. Dr. Patterson was the 'Jerseyman' referred to in the letters of Mr. Breck, for whose work he generously contributed. Dr. Van Ingen came to us from the Diocese of Bishop De Lancey, and had the commendation of Bishop Kemper. The Rev. I.S. Chamberlain was from Illinois, and a son-in-law of Bishop Chase. All these and others whose names might be mentioned were High Churchmen of the old school. Knickerbacker, then a young man, was laying the foundations of Gethsemane. They were all loyal to the Prayer Book and their ritual interpretation was as they had received it from the fathers. The altar had only the 'fair linen cloth,' and the covering that veiled the elements of 'bread and wine,' save perhaps a simple cross of wood, the emblem of our salvation. Other ornaments there were none, if we except only the 'beauty of holiness' which adorned their outward life and the reverent simplicity with which the Service of the Sanctuary was solemnized. The vestments of the clergy consisted of the long surplice made full, the black stole worn on all occasions and the bands. Mr. Breck wore everywhere, as his daily dress, a coat somewhat longer than ordinary, buttoned close, a cassock fashion, but not so as to impede his long journeys; Mr. Manney wore under the surplice the cassock, adopted as we understand from his army life, but not ordinarily worn except for Divine Service. The clerical coat was worn universally by the clergy. It was a request of Bishop Kemper always that the clergy should wear the surplice wherever they officiated, whether in the school house or the log cabin."

— Bishop Whipple's address at the Diocesan Convention of 1879 (quoted in Tanner, pp. 437f

The simple wooden cross apparently used in the Parish Church of the Good Shepherd, on display in the Cathedral basement.

continued from page 180

Muhlenberg's church in New York City. From Muhlenberg he learned spiritual discipline, for at Flushing there was a special residence, Cadet Hall, which was supposed to be for the Church "what West Point and Annapolis were to the Army and Navy." Strange to say, Muhlenberg does not seem to have been interested in *cathedrals* — unless he also considered them equivalent to associate missions. (See Skardon, pp. 96 and 81.)

[26]Evangelicals, the major supporters at first, saw the memorial as a way for ecumenical cooperation with other Protestants; high churchmen saw it as a way to allow the accoutrements of Tractarian worship. Muhlenberg favored *both*! (Chorley, p. 285 ff.)

[27]Dr. James DeKoven was one of the first to use such practices in the U.S.: in 1876 — the year that Breck died — DeKoven started to celebrate the Eucharist daily, wearing a chasuble, at Racine College in Wisconsin (today the DeKoven Foundation). (Chorley, p. 326.) Breck was reportedly buried in an ordinary surplice and stole.

impressively, for Whipple said that he "had the gift of making the rudest school-house and improvised altar beautiful, to lift men's hearts to God." Apparently Breck was not an extraordinary preacher, but his imagination could bring liturgy to life. If penitential seasons were somber — and they were! — major feasts were all the more occasions for decoration, music, treats, wine, even innocent merriment.

Because crosses and candles and colored vestments have so long been accepted, it is perhaps easily forgotten that controversy over "ritual"[28] raged in the Episcopal Church during most if not all of Henry Benjamin Whipple's episcopate. Yet he claimed that in Minnesota it was never a major issue. If that was true, it was probably because he made conformity to rubrics and custom a matter of personal loyalty. (As he well knew, ceremonies were not only ornamental — they symbolized doctrines; and some of these were generally considered inconsistent with the faith of the Episcopal Church as then understood.[29] As a bishop, one of his chief duties was to guard that faith.) Whipple did not write much concerning specific practices, though after a visit to Oxford in 1864 he did voice some reactions about the choral services there:

I know of nothing more moving to the heart than to hear the Chants, Psalter, Creed, &c. ... to some grand old strain. ... [But] I confess I dislike much to hear the intoning of the prayers. It lacks depth and earnestness. It has more the effect of a performance.[30]

The Bishop respected, as individuals, some like James DeKoven and Arthur Carey who used "advanced" ceremonies. What may have been allowed outside of Minnesota was some other bishop's business; but Whipple's priorities were clear for his own diocese: "I love a beautiful ritual, but I love more the *unity* of the church."[31] The Bishop's Church at Faribault, we may be sure, reflected the Bishop's policy.

Until 1900, at least, worship at the Cathedral probably included little ceremonial. Certainly this would have been the case under George Whipple, who was "opposed to ritualism in all its forms." His successor, William Gardam, had been educated at Lincoln and apparently encouraged customs that were being revived in some areas of England. Probably he was the one who introduced colored frontals on the altar. It is known that he allowed candles and used wafer bread, for Charles Slattery, upon arrival, disposed of both. (Slattery felt that "real bread" was a far better symbol to use in the Lord's Supper — a view once again in favor more than ninety years later.) Ironically, it was later during Slattery's tenure that altar candles reappeared — massive brass candlesticks this time, and a large matching cross. Canticles were sung to a variety of Anglican chant settings at both Morning and Evening Prayer on Sundays; and the *Kyrie, Sanctus,* and *Gloria in Excelsis* were sung at the "First Sunday" Communion.[32]

More elaborate ceremonial became the rule in the 1920s, during the tenure of William Hengen. Not only did he exhibit certain "high" tendencies — *e.g.,* use of the term *Holy Eucharist* regularly in the *Chimes* and newspaper announcements; he even, in the privacy of the record book, referred to the 1925 Christmas Eve service as "Midnight Mass"![33] He was aided and abetted by the Cole sisters, who were well-versed in cathedral customs. The newly-formed Altar Guild was busy not only caring for the old vestments but also making new ones. "Miss Stella" had discovered that "royal purple" (as she called it) was commonly used in English cathedrals for cassocks — and so, she insisted, purple must be adopted in Faribault, for both clergy and choirs.[34] Apparently fairly high ceremonial continued under Vesper Ward and Osborne Littleford, for during these years the Sacrament was first reserved in the chapel.[35]

Under John H. MacNaughton, if not before, the ceremonial was definitely "lower", though services were nonetheless dignified. (MacNaughton used the full official term *Protestant Episcopal* in the newspaper, in Sunday bulletins, and in the newsletter.) Acolytes, carefully drilled, lit and extinguished the candles with precision. Flags were still prominent in the processional — the 1950s were patriotic years, and in Faribault the '50s lasted well into the '60s! Some changes came during the Campbell years. Soon *Protestant Episcopal* was replaced by *The Episcopal Church* — which took up exactly as many spaces on the typewriter and thus looked much the same! "Ernie" Campbell tried to introduce Communion twice a month at the late service, using the experimental *Liturgy of the Lord's Supper.* The innovation did not last long. He started

[28]The term *ritual,* strictly speaking, refers to *words,* not ceremonies; however, the word was used loosely, and generally meant ceremonies.

[29]*E.g.,* it was forbidden for the priest to elevate the Sacrament or to genuflect before it — to do so might have symbolized belief in transubstantiation; altar candles were also interpreted by many to mean the same thing. But as DeKoven passionately argued, while the Church might prohibit every outward ceremony, it could not forbid the inward faith of those who believed in the Real Presence.

[30]*Democrat,* Nov. 14, 1864, p. 3. Obviously he referred to Matins or Evensong. Such sung services would have been very rare in the U.S. at this time, and a "full choral" Eucharist virtually non-existent. Most Communion services involved few communicants and were very plain.

[31]*Lights & Shadows,* pp. 225-226.

[32]Stainer's settings were popular, as were chants by a composer (forgotten today) named Simper.

[33]*Eucharist* is increasingly common, no doubt because of its use as a title in the 1979 Prayer Book. It is interesting to note that in the Minnesota Historical Society's collection of Whipple Papers there is an undated proposed constitution for a new religious order (either of nuns or deaconesses) to be called "The Order of Our Merciful Saviour." It is not known who drafted this constitution — but in it Bishop Whipple crossed out every use of *Eucharist* and wrote in *Communion.* Breck, of course, used *Eucharist* regularly.

[34]Undated letter from Edgar Pye.

[35]The ambry was given in 1940, the year before Dean Ward left, and presumably was used by him. (He gave a pyx — a small silver vessel for taking Communion to the sick — in memory of his first wife.)

On festive occasions the Cathedral has always been elaborately decorated. Top left: *A jungle of flowers and ferns for the wedding of Miss Jane Whipple Scandrette (Bishop Whipple's granddaughter), June 7, 1898. (Photo lent by Betty Oehler, the Bishop's great-granddaughter)* Top right: *Detail of Christmas decorations,* circa *1910: the chancel has been transformed into a forest, the windows are blocked by greenery, and the cross is festooned with flowers.* Below: *The Cathedral decked out for Christmas* circa *1900. Note the "rood screen" — long a Cathedral Yuletide tradition. Note the large gas "chandelier" hanging in the center of the choir and the gaslight standards fixed to the pew-dividers, right and left. Note also the smoke stains around the chimney covers next to the hymn boards. (There were stoves in the organ chamber and sacristy.)*

Glenn Hammond, Dean Hengen's unofficial assistant, flanked by Bishops McElwain and Keeler. Not surprisingly, Miss Hammond married a clergyman.

Some Unusual Services

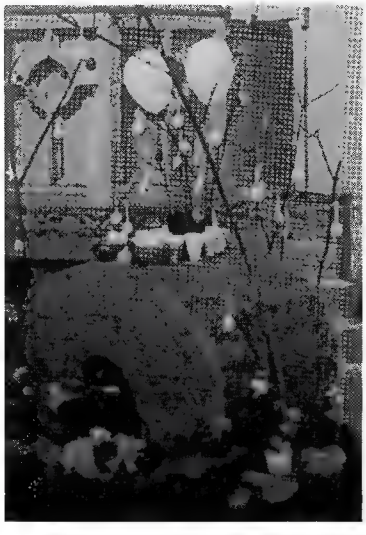
A church as historic and as architecturally interesting as the Cathedral has been the scene of a few unusual services in its time. Nothing really bizarre — like the high-wire artist performing at St. John the Divine in New York City — is recorded in the archives; at Faribault the unusual tends to be quietly unusual.

In the minds of many people the Cathedral is more of a public institution than are the other churches in town. Dean Slattery used to be called on frequently by couples eager for a "cathedral wedding." Dean Hengen also officiated at many impromptu services, and "Glenny" (as he called her) Hammond would often get an urgent summons to come and act as a witness. She remembers one such occasion especially: "A real elderly wealthy man married a much younger woman ... The groom gave the Dean an envelope and said, 'If she's worth more, I'll pay you later.' The envelope contained a $5 bill. I never heard if he paid more ..." (Not too many years ago there was a wedding that is probably unique in the annals of the Cathedral: it was performed by a judge!)

Sometimes the unusual happens purely by accident or involves a misunderstanding. Don Wafler remembers the time when Dean Campbell was celebrating Communion and discovered that there wouldn't be enough wine for all those coming up to the altar. He sent one of the acolytes — in this case quite a small boy — out to the sacristy to pour some into a cruet. The server returned, walking right down the chancel aisle with a full gallon jug. "I can still picture his right hand straining to support the jug at his waist, and his other hand with the index finger secure in the right place holding the top. There were many soft snickers in the choir that day."

Many people with only a tenuous connection to the Cathedral expect the services — even the sacraments — of the Church to be available on request. Baptism presents an especially vexing problem: some parents who are not themselves practicing Christians nonetheless feel obliged to have their children "done." Of course the Dean must refuse, for Baptism implies faith and commitment — either personally, for "those of riper years," or on the part of parents and god-parents, in the case of children. Sometimes total strangers show up, as happened in 1934. Dean Ward must have been satisfied that the sponsors were sincere, for he went ahead with the ceremony. This unusual baptism got reported in the *Daily News*, August 28, 1934:

> *A 17-month-old gypsy baby yesterday morning halted work on the construction project at the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour for her christening. She is the daughter of Tony and Rosa Ephriam — Amelia Ephriam Ephriam.*
>
> *The service at 9:30 was the full rites of the Episcopal church added to by certain gypsy customs, which included swaddling the baby in a bright, gaudy piece of silk at the end of the ceremony.*
>
> *Yesterday morning the parents of the child came to the Very Rev. V.O. Ward, dean of the Cathedral, asking him to officiate at a regular Episcopal baptism service. For weeks the cathedral had not been used because of the remodeling being done, but because of the request, the work was stopped yesterday, during the duration of the ceremony, which requires the font and candles.*
>
> *Louis Risteick and Anna Risteick, fellow gypsies, were present to act as sponsors to the child. There was, of course, the father, who wore civilian clothes, and the mother, dressed in colorful traditional gypsy costume. Afterward she wrapped her small daughter in the bright silk.*
>
> *In conformity with a gypsy custom, candles will burn for several days in observance of the christening and the gypsies bought three regular cathedral candles to be used as they continue their journey. Amelia was born in Chicago, March 15, 1933, and during her short life has traveled extensively for one so young, the gypsies informed Dean Ward.*

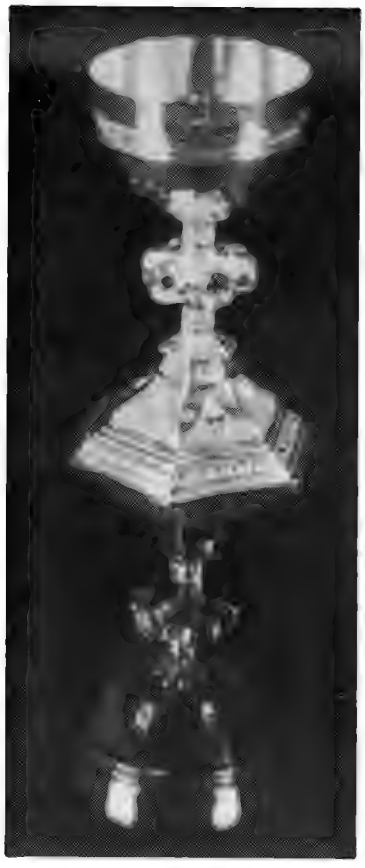


Holy Week and Easter in the 1980s — Top left: *Passover meal in the Guild House on Maundy Thursday.* Right: *Service around the cross on the north lawn on Good Friday afternoon.* Bottom left: *The Way of the Cross on Good Friday night.* Middle: *Lighting the New Fire on Easter Eve, using the Dean's barbecue.* Right: *The children's Easter tomb beside the pulpit.*

to wear a plain white linen chasuble, which caused some comment. He tried to revive the Daily Office, taking Morning Prayer himself and assigning Evening Prayer to a roster of volunteer readers.

The main Sunday morning service continued much the same during the next two administrations. Thomas D. Hughes, with a scholar's interest, was something of a connoisseur of the Anglican tradition — but, unfortunately, the early '70s were years of turmoil in the Church. It was during his deanship that Cursillo influenced many at the Cathedral and, as a result, an informal "celebration service" with guitars and folk music was started, in addition to the traditional 8:00 and 10:00 services. Dean Swenson, in worship as in everything else, sought to promote peace, using both the "trial use" and the 1928 Prayer Book services equally. He encouraged greater lay involvement.

The coming of Dean Winkler in the fall of 1979 marked the beginning of a new liturgical era at the Cathedral. The 1979 Prayer Book had just been approved by the General Convention, and he would champion its use. In its issue of December 15, 1981, *Time*, the national news magazine, would even publish a letter from him attacking the new book's detractors.) The new Dean would insist upon *one* Sunday morning service — always to include Communion. During most of the year it would be Rite II, the contemporary-language liturgy; during Advent and Lent, however, the more traditional Rite I would be used. Morning Prayer would be used as the "Service of the Word" twice a month, preserving one link with the Anglican past that was being lost in many parishes. He introduced incense at the major feasts, and much more chanting. Perhaps, most notably, he inaugurated the full Easter Vigil — the one service during the year that



Above: *The Gear Chalice, believed to have been given to Bishop Whipple by the first Episcopal clergyman in Minnesota, the Rev. Ezekiel Gear.* Opposite page — top: *"Lift up your hearts" — Dean Winkler begins the Great Thanksgiving on an ordinary Sunday morning, flanked by Charles Champlin (one of the Cathedral's several lay-readers) and Deacon Donald S. Wafler.* Middle: *Eileen Hansen, one of the Altar Guild members who prepare vessels, vestments, and flowers for services.* Bottom: *Acolytes lead the Junior Choir from the chancel in the 1950s, when flags were still carried every Sunday.*

drew Episcopalians from far beyond Faribault to the Cathedral. His emphasis upon ceremony was balanced, however, by an easy informality and humor. He encouraged lay participation not only in services but in their planning. In 1987 Liz Roehrick was head of the Worship Commission, a large committee representing the many activities involved in the Cathedral's services.

THE ALTAR GUILD AND ACOLYTES

With more elaborate services in the 1920s and more frequent weekday celebrations of the Holy Communion, organizations to assist the clergy became a practical necessity. Just how such work was handled earlier is unclear.

Stella Cole was the moving force behind the Altar Guild and served as its Directress for many years. A self-taught expert in English cathedral usages, she stressed "correctness" in every sense, including the extensive vocabulary associated with vessels, vestments, etc. Members of the Guild were expected to master such information. Harriet Ulvenes remembers "what a great privilege it was" to serve. She remembers the cap and cape and gloves that were worn and the care with which one would approach the altar. She remembers the fragile old lace fall that would be put on the altar for festival occasions, and how dry oatmeal was used to clean it. Cleaning and

A Crucifer in Regalia

"Stella Cole and her sister Kate, my mother's godmother, spent a good deal of time (before my birth) studying the cathedrals of England and the Continent and eventually put their knowledge into action at our cathedral. As the crucifer, I was the first to get the full English regalia, and I must say that after I first walked down the aisle there was much talk! I wore — all this is now commonplace, I know — an amice, which Miss Stella taught me how to put on and wind around me before I put on my alb, which was secured in a very special way with a white girdle and tied with a particular English knot! Then came my white gloves, and I was ready to lead the procession anywhere ... I remember when our choir was invited as the Cathedral choir to sing at the Minneapolis Auditorium at a diocesan celebration in honor of the Presiding Bishop, the Rt. Rev. James deWolfe Perry of Rhode Island. Afterwards he sought me out for a handshake and commended all of us for leading the choirs assembled from all over the state ... Returning to Faribault that evening (I was riding with the Theopolds and Miss Stella and the processional cross, which I learned could be unscrewed to make it easier to transport), we encountered sleet. Fortunately Mr. T. was prepared: he had an onion to rub on the outside of the window. (I had never seen *that* before.) So my job was to get out periodically and rub the windshield, and then we would move on. Needless to say, I felt very reduced in stature doing such a menial task after having moments before just shaken the hand of the P.B.!!

"One of the pleasures of being in the chancel was sitting behind the pulpit and therefore out of sight of the preacher. (This, of course, was before the pulpit was moved to its present position.) As an acolyte and crucifer, and before that as a choir boy, I had to sit through many a sermon that had little impact on me. However, under his vestments, Dr. Clements would hide the Sunday funny papers for us to look at. He listened while we read! ... One day as I was leading the choir out, Dr. Clements' newspaper worked its way loose and started to slip down. Although a very large man, he managed a graceful catch and held on, so that the clergy following him thought he had simply grabbed a piece of music that had gotten away! I didn't see all this because I was up front carrying the cross, but I was told later that most of the choir lost their places in the recessional hymn!"

— Edgar Pye

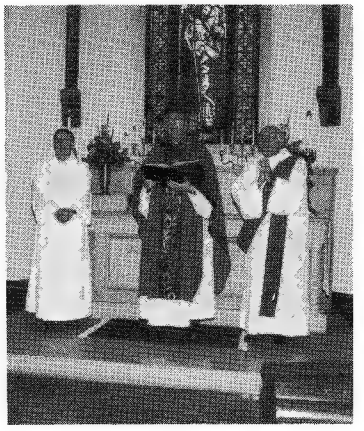
polishing were a large part of the Guild's responsibility. Miss Stella once described the hardware in her inimitable prose:

If members of the Cathedral Parish would drop in at the furnace room ... on one of the Altar Guild's polishing days, they would think they had stumbled into a large ecclesiastical furnishing shop; and if told that all the silver and brass articles there assembled were their own property, they would rub their eyes in disbelief and then assume the self-congratulatory air of plutocrats. It is not surprising that a parish which started in missionary days, which boasts the first Cathedral in the American Church, and which has reached the ripe age of 85 years, has acquired many treasures. ... The annals of the Altar Guild are, nevertheless, short and simple. It has little money, as the treasurer's report well shows.[36]

Such behind-the-scenes work is still done by a faithful band of women, though now there is a sacristy in the tower, making it unnecessary to use the furnace room. Sewing was also one of the Altar Guild's specialties from the beginning. In 1934, when the stone altar was installed, new linens had to be made to fit its dimensions. Over the years, embroidered designs from old frontals have been sewn onto new material for use on the smaller chapel altar. Finally, the Guild not only sets up for services; it also distributes altar flowers to sick and shut-in parishioners. This last responsibility was handled by Mrs. H.B. Smith for over forty years: in 1938 she was honored for her long service. "Biddie" Kronke and Mrs. Aaron Kiser led the Guild after Miss Cole's death. In 1987 the president was Eileen Hansen.

The Acolyte Guild was organized in 1934 with eleven boys. The piety of John Miller, the first president, made a particularly strong impression upon his fellows — indeed, upon the congregation — for despite a lingering and debilitating illness, he continued to serve at the altar. In his memory the Acolyte Guild presented a resolution, carefully hand-lettered, and signed by all the members. Gradually the number of servers grew — in 1947 there were 36 — but their faithfulness did not diminish. Leonard McDowell reported, "In the six years I have served as warden of the acolytes, I have had but two ask to be relieved from further duties. ... Such devotion, I believe, assures a future for our Church."[37]

Throughout the 1950s and '60s the Acolyte Guild remained strong. Russ Murphy, son of Dean Murphy and now a clergyman himself, remembers that in the mid-'50s there was an almost-military regimen: one's black shoes had to be shined, one's hair neatly cut — an altar boy wore white gloves. The 1970s and '80s were a less-formal time, and tennis or running shoes were more likely to be worn under an acolyte's robe. And now there were also altar *girls*: Beth Onkka became the Cathedral's first one, in 1972.



CHOIRS

It would be difficult to say when the first regular choir was organized. The earliest mention of any choir at all appears in 1869 at the consecration of the Cathedral. It was made up of students from the schools, probably just for that occasion. In 1876, when Mr. Bill was succeeded as organist by Miss Mary Van Vliet (later Mrs. Harry Whitney), a mixed "quartette choir" was started.[38] (Mary Van Vliet taught both instrumental and choral music at St. Mary's.) On Sunday evenings a quartet from Seabury led the music. "The object in having all male voices is to encourage congregational singing, and nothing but plain music will be sung." The response, according to the *Republican*, was "hearty."[39]

In 1882 a boys' choir, vested in surplices, was introduced, and five years later it was so large that it became necessary to add a third row on each side of the chancel. During this period a Shattuck choir is mentioned several times — first at Easter, 1883; this may have been the same group as the boys' choir, or a different one. The Shattuck choir sang "antiphonally", which seems to suggest that it chanted the psalms.

In 1895 Arthur Tripp, a young Englishman studying at Seabury, became organist and choirmaster, and he emphasized the British choral tradition. The next year Charles Slattery became Dean-and-Rector, and with Tripp he concentrated on developing Evensong. Within weeks of Slattery's arrival, all the music for the service was being listed each week in the *Democrat*. The Sunday night service was shorter and in some ways

[36]1943 Annual Report.
[37]1947 Annual Report.
[38]*Chimes*, May, 1940, p. 14; at this time it was common even for many large city churches to employ quartets. It is not known whether Miss Van Vliet's quartet was paid or not.
[39]Oct. 1, 1879, p. 3. Perhaps the specific mention of "nothing but plain music" implies that some fairly elaborate music was used at the morning services.

The Boys' Choir in 1956 — 1st row, from left: *Paul Onkka, Gary Lockman, John Strickland, Greg Larsen, Eddie Roach*; 2d row: *Unknown, J. Boosalis, David Agerter, Bruce Briese, Unknown, Mark Stabnow*; 3d row: *Bill Siemers, Bill Spurbeck, Jim Butterwick, Russ Murphy, Phil Anderson, Unknown, Brian Briese*; 4th row: *Tom Weaver, Bucky Roach, Jack Winjum, Peter Deem, Jack Weaver, Kent Crossley, Dean Lockman*; back row: *Harold Roach (Director), Mike Relyea, Bessie Lindberg (Choir Mother).*

less formal than the morning "Cathedral service"; in addition to Evening Prayer, there was an extemporaneous sermon and a brief organ recital. Attendance soon grew to between 200 and 300. Music must have been a factor. According to an 1896 clipping in Slattery's notebook, "It is no longer fashionable to tell [one's] friends how bad the music is in the Cathedral."

After Tripp left in 1898, there was a rapid turnover of organists, and for a while the quality of music apparently declined — at least that seems to be the obvious inference to be drawn from this resolution passed by the Vestry in 1900:

It was moved and sec'd (Mr. Sheffield and Mr. Crossett) that the Vestry make a special appropriation not to exceed fifty dollars ($50.00) to assist in getting the choir into good shape for Easter.

Just how this money was to be used is unclear — were more or better singers to be hired? — but immediately, lest too many people's feelings be hurt, a second, almost contradictory resolution was passed:

Moved and sec'd (Mr. Kaiser and Mr. Crossett) that the Vestry expresses to the choir through Mr. Clements [the choirmaster] their appreciation for the excellent music furnished by the choir for Cathedral services.[40]

Almost certainly the first resolution was a truer indication of the Vestry's thinking.

A lot was expected of the choir in those days. In 1904 the boys sang every Sunday, both morning and evening, and they had to attend two rehearsals during the week. They were paid 50¢ per month. (The organist got $5 a week.) In the early '20s the boys' choir was still strong. In one annual report, Mr. Zoubek praised the choristers for their faithfulness: some of the boys, he said, had missed only two or three rehearsals or services all year.[41] John Wark recalls the choir from this period:

In addition to the adult choir, we had a boys' choir with about twenty members. No girls. We sang at all services, including the entire three-hour service on Good Friday. Depending on length of service [seniority!] and a few other things, we were paid between 25¢ and a dollar a month. In those days that was big money and good for a few ice cream cones or candy bars. Herbert L. Miller, a student at Seabury ..., was our organist and choirmaster. At that time the organ console was directly under the pipes, facing south. He had a long horizontal mirror mounted over the keyboard; that way he could keep an eye on us. ...[42]

By the time that Oscar Olin was a choir boy, the choir no longer sang on Sunday evenings. Now the boys were paid 25¢ a month. There was a girls' choir too, but apparently its members were not paid — and were not told that the boys were!

The boys' choir eventually died out, but it was revived in 1937 when the Rev. Herbert Morris became Canon Precentor. In the early 1950s it was started up once

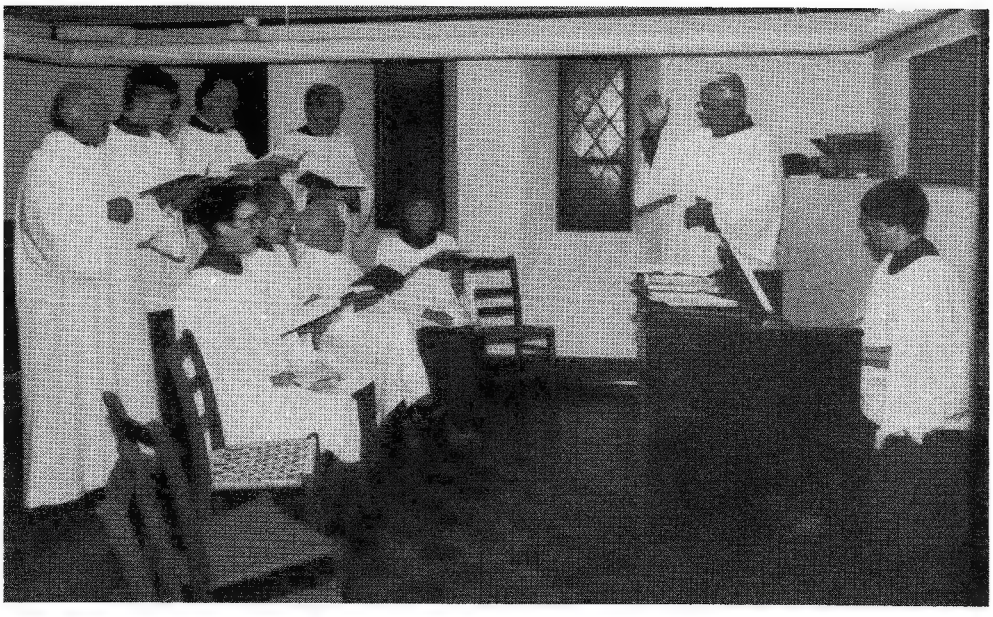
[40]Minutes Book, Jan. 18, 1900.
[41]Annual Report, 1921.
[42]Letter from Mr. Wark, Mar. 26, 1985.

Top: *The Girls' Choir* circa *1957* — 1st row, from left: *Ann Crossley, Lois Purrington, Kay Lockman, Mary Sartell, Meg Below, Susan Stabnow, Carolyn Olin;* 2d row: *Unknown, Kaye Siemers, Kitty Stabbart, Susan Beckley, Sharon McDowell, Mary Kay Lockwood, Jean Purrington;* 3d row: *Sharon McLarty, Trudy Olin, Janice McDowell, Bernice Fiedler (Director), Janice (or Mary) Heil, Susan Briese, Susan Yarbrough, Susan Gilkes.* Below: *The Senior Choir in 1962* — 1st row, from left: *Helen Wafler. Eva Fitch, Margaret Below, Betty Dusbabek, Ruth Babcock, Marge Cook, Jan Batchelder, Jan Schuehle (Organist-Director);* 2d row: *Sally Beneke, Mary Jean Knapp, Helen Truax, D. Pomand, Ardis Siemers, Marthena Drybread, Jan Carpenter;* 3d row: *George Watts, Jim Carpenter, D. Elphee, Harold Roach, Steve Wafler, Shirley MacNaughton;* back row: *Dean MacNaughton, Unknown, Hugh Fitch, David Major, Chet Puffer, Howard Quigley, the Rev. Karl Bell, Don Wafler.*

more, directed first by Harold Roach and later by Sally Beneke. During this time Bernice Fiedler had charge of the girls' choir. Susan Brand Wieczorek remembers that in the early 1960s there were so many singers in the junior and adult choirs that the girls had to vest and warm-up in the passageway next to the Crypt. Most recently, in the early 1970s, Janet Batchelder organized a mixed youth choir which sang for several years.

The senior choir has, like other aspects of the Cathedral's life both waxed and waned. During the 1920s the choir usually had at least 25 members — indeed, in 1921 it "averaged about 35."[43] Music loomed large that year: two cantatas and three organ

[43]Annual Report, 1921.



Top left: *From the 1961 production of* Amahl and the Night Visitors — from left: *Hugh Fitch (Kasper), Don Wafler (Balthazar), David Major (Melchior).* Below: *John Church of St. James School (Amahl), Chet Puffer (Page — obscured), Peggy Weaver (Amahl's Mother).* Right: *Some members of the choir in 1987 warming up before a service* — back row: *Don Wafler, Tim Galvin, Bob Neslund, Don Folsom;* front: *Anne Jones, Donna Johnson, Helen Wafler, Marlene Nihart; Adrian Johnson directs, and Marcia Bollman, organist, accompanies.*

recitals were presented. The senior choir also flourished in the late '30s under Dwight DeLong's direction. In 1937 it sang DuBois' *Seven Last Words of Christ,* an ambitious work that the choir would not perform again until the early '60s.

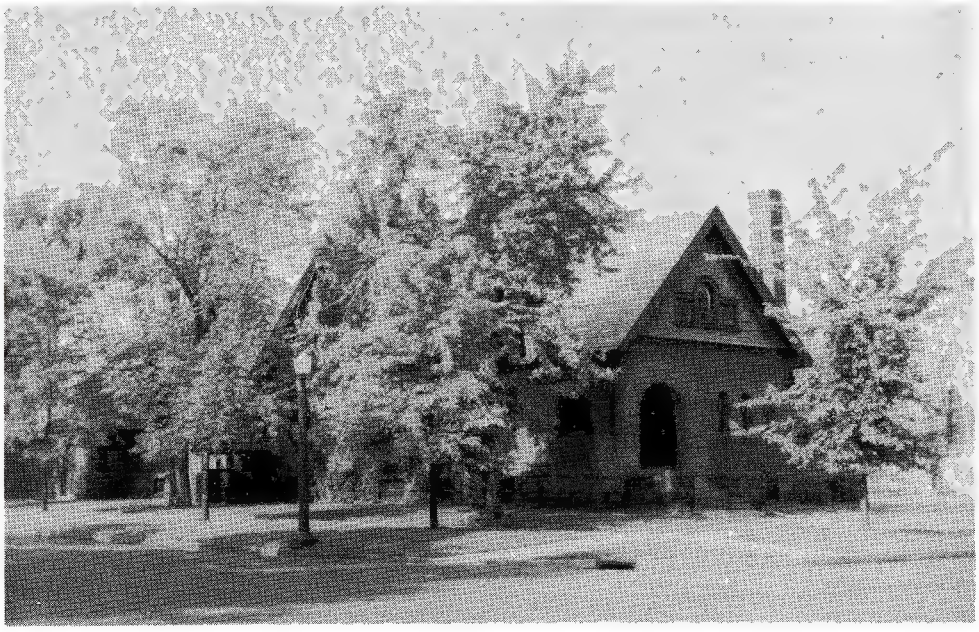
In 1940 Anna Theopold, in an article in the *Chimes,* mentioned a number of singers who had figured prominently in the senior choir up through the '20s and '30s. The Whitneys were at the top of her list — Mary and Prof. Harry Whitney, George S. Whitney, and Mrs. George Richard Kingham. Mrs. Theopold also included Mrs. George Wood, "whose sweet soprano led the choir for many years", Anna Grant, Sarah LeCrone, Mrs. George Mee, "Miss Puffer," Harold Roach, and Dean and Mrs. Zoubek. Mrs. Lynn Peavey often played violin solos, accompanied by Helen Gipson. (Mrs. Peavey always wore a velvet band around her neck.)

The senior choir was large again in the late '50s and early '60s under Jan Schuehle's direction. Its most ambitious productions were DuBois' *Seven Last Words,* which was issued as a recording, and Menotti's *Amahl and the Night Visitors.* Many of the choir members pictured in the 1962 Centennial booklet sang throughout the '60s and '70s — and a few were still active in 1987.

Beginning about 1970, the choir was smaller. For over a decade its directors were students from St. Olaf College. Several of these were already highly-accomplished organists, but since most served for no more than two years, there was a certain lack of continuity. Since 1984 Adrian Johnson, a college choir director for many years and now retired, has been in charge of the Cathedral choir, and Marcia Bollman has served as organist and pianist. During this period the choir has not only continued to perform at least one anthem on most Sundays but also introduced many new hymns and chant settings that eventually appeared in the new Hymnal. Thus when it was published in 1985, much of the new music was already familiar at the Cathedral.

APPENDIX II

THE GUILD HOUSE: GATHERING PLACE FOR A PARISH AT WORK



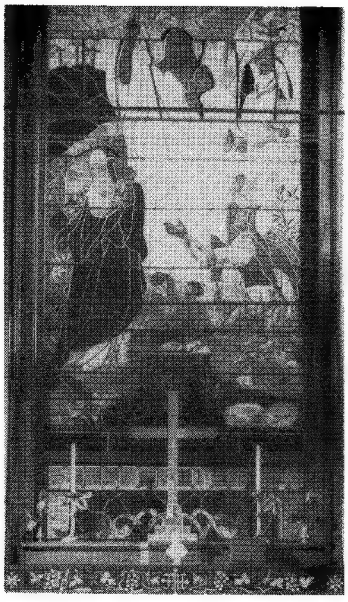
The Guild House, opened in 1894. Note the original porch design.

Liturgy, in its literal sense, means "the work of the people." Normally the word is used only in connection with public worship — and this may indeed be the highest form of human work; yet the work of the People of God includes more than prayer and praise and preaching. The Guild House, like parish houses in general, grew out of at least two developments in the late 19th Century: a larger awareness of the social implications of religion and an increasing role for the laity. Neither was an altogether new idea. In the late 1880s "organized work" burgeoned in the Parish, requiring space and facilities for a variety of groups. Women took the lead in most of these activities.

Parish houses originated in large cities as part of the so-called "institutional church" movement. Some congregations felt a need to minister to their neighborhoods (often made up largely of immigrants) by offering educational and recreational activities, much as the YMCA and the YWCA do today. Such programs were an expression of the new "Social Gospel" belief that the Christian mission included not only the salvation of individual souls but also amelioration of the conditions in which people live. Muhlenburg's Church of the Holy Communion, New York City, was one of the earliest institutional churches. And it is probable that Bishop Whipple envisioned the Cathedral as something of an institutional church, for in 1869 he prophesied, "The day will come when under the shadow of its roof, there will be an orphan and widow's home, a hospital for the sick, and a refuge for the penitent"[1] — not to mention a boys' and a girls' school and a seminary! In other words, the Parish, with its spiritual responsibility for the people of Faribault, would have been only one institution among several in the Cathedral establishment. There is no evidence, however, that the Bishop in 1869 saw that the *Parish* would need any facilities other than those provided in the Cathedral building on Sunday evenings and on weekdays. The Guild House does not seem to have been part of his early plan for the Parish.

Work among the poor in Faribault, regardless of denomination, had been carried on by James Lloyd Breck. George Whipple had continued that work. It was one of a minister's chief duties: he did it on behalf of the congregation which paid for his salary. By the time that the Parish became "organized" the focus had broadened somewhat: on the one hand, interest in the missionary work of the National Church was increasing as local societies were formed; on the other, the need was felt for groups that would benefit the Parish and foster fellowship and self-improvement. As the *Democrat* understood,

[1]Though such institutions did not materialize in connection with the Faribault Cathedral, a number of social welfare agencies did develop under Episcopal auspices in the Twin Cities; some of the early ones were Sheltering Arms, the Church Home, the Welles Settlement House, and St. Barnabas' Hospital. Whipple did not explain the term "refuge for the penitent"; perhaps he meant some kind of half-way house.



Top: *The original Cathedral altar, covered with an elaborate Turn-of-the-Century frontal; behind it is the Resurrection window.* Below: *The Samuel window in the east wall of the Great Hall.*

the Guild House would encourage the laity to undertake some of the work that heretofore had been done mostly by clergy:

Nothing could be more fitting as an earthly monument to [George Whipple's] memory than a Parish House, which stands second to and under the shadow of God's own Church. It is a place for worship and work; it is a place for children; it is a place for all to come, rich and poor, and with one common impulse unite in such work as Mr. Whipple was always ready to do and always busy in doing. The means for the erection of the Memorial did not come wholly from his own Church people, but from those who had known him and admired his character. ...[2]

THE ORIGINAL GUILD HOUSE

Funds to build the George Brayton Whipple Memorial Guild House were raised in 1893. The cost is usually given as $10,000. The actual expenditure, excluding furnishings (most of which were memorials), was $8,494.04.[3] The Vestry borrowed $1000 to support the project; and five women of the Parish — Mrs. James Dobbin, Mrs. Edward Clark Bill, Mrs. H.E. Barron, Mrs. F.A. Theopold, and Mrs. G.W. Ehle —borrowed another $1000 together on their note, pledging to pay back the loan within two years. William H. Jewett of New Haven, Conn. — a cousin of Stephen Jewett, long-time vestryman and treasurer of the Seabury Mission — drew the plans. The Romanesque style, then in vogue, was chosen. (The lines of the building have been compared to the work of Henry H. Richardson, the famous Boston architect.[4]) It is a heavy, solid-looking structure constructed of pressed brick and brownish-pink sandstone. Originally it had a slate roof. "Every detail is genuine and honest," said the Rev. William Gardam, who claimed that "impartial judges" considered it to be "one of the most beautiful parish houses in the country."[5] It was opened "informally" on November 20, 1894, but the official "Benediction" could not take place until January 8, 1896, when everything was paid for.

The original Guild House comprised the front two-thirds of the present building — two reception rooms, the great hall, and a kitchen and dining room in the basement. A stairway in the great hall connected the basement and the main floor. Where the main doors are now, there was an open porch, entered through an arch, with steps leading up to the first floor. In 1900 a large stone tablet given by Benjamin Sheffield was set in the wall of the porch:

To George Whipple
this House was builded by Parishioners and Friends
in grateful and sacred and everlasting remembrance.[6]

Though the Guild House is nearly a century old, the overall appearance of the great hall has not greatly changed. The look, however, is somewhat simpler now, for the walls were for many years decorated with large reproductions of famous religious masterpieces, all in heavy frames. There can be little doubt that these pictures were intended for the Sunday School, for most of them concerned the childhood of Jesus.[7] A chancel, as now, was set up on the stage platform. The altar was the original one from the old "rude chapel" — a fitting symbol in a building devoted to the work of the *Parish.* (The present altar was moved in from the Cathedral in 1934, and the cross and candlesticks came from the Seabury chapel.) The Resurrection window, in the Tiffany style, a memorial to the Rev. Edward Clark Bill, was brighter at first, for it was illuminated with natural light. When Gilbert Hall was added, it became necessary to light the window artificially, and Mrs. Theopold in her notebook remarked that it was not an improvement. The two reception rooms were connected to the great hall with sliding doors, and their fireplace mantels were designed by Cass Gilbert, architect of the Minnesota Capitol and the Woolworth Building in New York City. (The west reception room, now called the Cornelia Whipple Room, contains an old secretary with a brass plate that reads, "The Breck Desk, Gift of the Rev. F.A. McElwain, A.D. 1911.") The great hall contains two large side windows, both memorials. In the east window, the young boy Samuel holds a censer, and the motto quotes the words of his mother Hannah: "I have lent him unto the Lord." The effect is especially poignant for the window is in memory of three-year-old Herbert McArthur Smith, who was accidentally shot by his brother in "forbidden play" while their parents were away. (Above are three angel heads, all commemorating Theopold children.) In the west window at the top there is a

[2]*Democrat*, Jan. 18, 1896, p. 3
[3]*Ibid.*
[4]Gebhard & Martinson, p. 274.
[5]1895 *Yearbook*, p. 8.
[6]The stone was given because so many visitors and new parishioners did not know in whose honor the Guild House had been built. (The two stones at the base of the entry arch only say "Memorial Guild House. A.D. MDCCCXCIV.") By the time the entrance was rebuilt in 1954, the tablet had so badly deteriorated that it could not be salvaged.

continued ...

richly-colored representation of John the Baptist, given in memory of James Lloyd Breck, with the appropriate words "The voice of one crying in the wilderness." Since 1957 there has been a Schimmel upright piano in the great hall, a bequest from Emma Henrietta Austin. Schimmels were manufactured in Faribault in the 1890s, and very few are known to exist. (The Congregational Church has one.)

GILBERT HALL

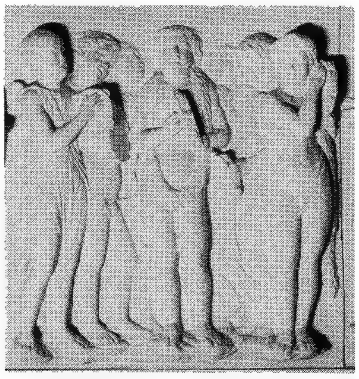
Ground was broken for the Gilbert Hall addition during Lent, 1905. Since this room was to provide Sunday School space for the "little children," members of the Primary Department assisted in the ceremonial digging. The large hall with adjoining kitchen was ready for dedication by Founder's Day. Gilbert Hall was decorated and equipped with children in mind, and the major pieces still are in place. A cast of Della Robia's bas-relief *Singing and Dancing Children* runs along most of the north wall, a gift from the Alfred Hoyt Bills in thanksgiving for their son. Other casts are in the same idiom: a Madonna "in memory of an only child", *David Holding the Head of Goliath* and *St. George and the Dragon.* (The *David*, long-since lost, made an impression on generations of children in the Primary Department!) A frieze representing the Quest of the Holy Grail was given by the two Gilbert girls and their friends at St. Mary's Hall in memory of Bishop Gilbert. It cost $300. Large sepia photographs of Sir Edwin Abbey's murals in the Boston Public Library alternate with carved oak panels that recount this Arthurian legend. Undoubtedly the story was chosen for its moral wisdom: it features not only a battle with the Seven Deadly Sins but also a victory over temptation: "Blanchfleur the Beautiful One [Galahad] renounceth *for the sake of the Grail*" — almost a mythical equivalent to the Biblical "pearl of great price." (Though color photographs of the murals were installed in 1985, the original prints have been preserved and are kept behind the photographs.) The room's equipment was also chosen with children in mind. There were collections of shells and rocks, picture books representing life in ancient times, and artifacts from the Holy Land. Fifty little oak chairs were given by Kingsmill Marrs, the brother of Evangeline Whipple. A blackboard and sand-table were provided for use in dramatizing Bible stories.

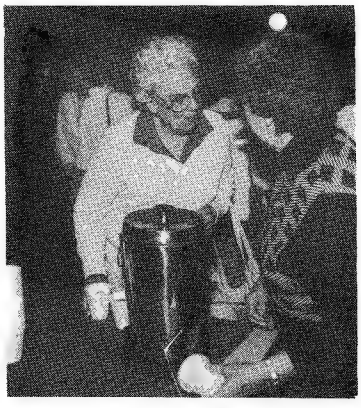
The corridor connecting the older part of the Guild House with Gilbert Hall was given by Mary Pew, a dress-maker of modest means, as a memorial to a young sister whom she had raised and educated. The plaque reads:

This is the Nelson Room in memory of a dear Child of this Parish who was baptized, confirmed, and married in the Cathedral. Her life on earth ran from 1864 to 1894. She brought Joy, and her memory is Peace. *M.E.P.*

After Gilbert Hall and the kitchen were added, the basement of the original Guild House was remodeled. Club rooms and a small gymnasium were built to meet the needs of an expanding social and recreational ministry sponsored by the Parish. In other words, the Guild House was now beginning to play the role of a community center as well as a meeting place for the activities of the Parish. By about 1917, the Guild House basement was being used seven days a week, and many of those benefiting from the facilities had little or no connection with the Parish. Eventually that declined as secular organizations developed, but for a number of years — especially during the Zoubek era — the Guild House was as busy as an urban parish house.

On March 15, 1954, at a special meeting of the Parish, the decision was made to reconstruct the basement to provide much-needed rooms for Sunday School classes and Scouting activities. The project was to cost $37,000 but the final figure was over $40,000. With 100 percent participation by the Chapter and the members of the finance and property committees, $12,000 had already been pledged before the campaign went public. $25,000 was borrowed, and the debt was liquidated within three years. E.J. Kiekenapp and George Kingham were co-chairmen of the fund-raising effort. On weekdays, much of the basement has been used for the last twenty years by the Horstman Memorial Nursery School which the Cathedral sponsors.





Top: *The Della Robia frieze in Gilbert Hall.* Middle: *Harriet Ulvenes* (left) *and Dorothy Parmelee talking at coffee hour after church.* Bottom: *Marcia Onkka pinching Archie Babcock, as Dr. Bob Nesvold looks on.*

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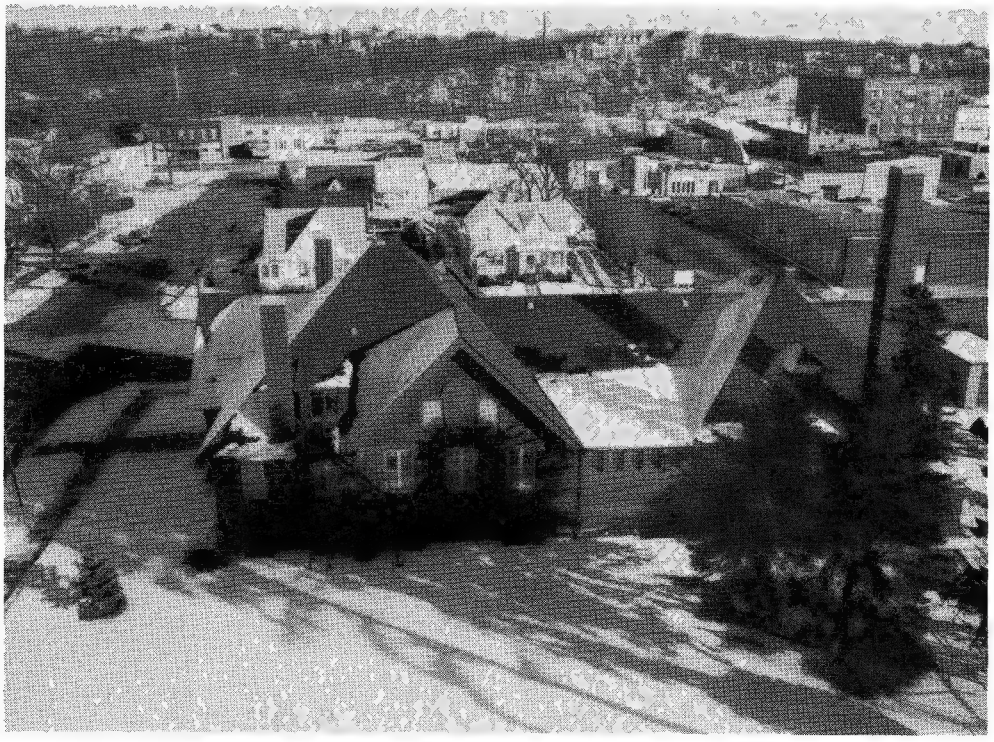
continued from page 190 ...

[7]Some of the pictures were probably selected for purely aesthetic reasons; it would have been difficult to explain the *Immaculate Conception* (Murillo's) or the *Circumcision* to young children.



Looking east from the top of the Cathedral tower: the Guild House, with the State Academy for the Deaf and St. Mary's Hall in the background on the bluff.

THE GUILDS

Though the Guild of the Good Shepherd never owned the Guild House outright, it was built at the instigation of the women of the Parish and specifically to provide a place for their work.

Women had been active in the life of the Parish since its beginning, though in the first years there apparently was no formal organization to coordinate their efforts. In 1864, a "Sisterhood" was begun, but its exact purpose is unclear. The earliest mention of a women's project comes from that same year: "The ladies of the Church of the Good Shepherd will open for the public an 'Ice-Cream Retreat,' the proceeds to be used for an organ for the Bishop's Church."[8] How much money they made has not come down to us, but it must have been a small amount — certainly small in comparison with the $4000 that the instrument would cost. In any case, besides raising money for worthy causes, events like this "retreat" served a valuable social purpose in a frontier town like Faribault, and they were understandably popular. Two years later the women of the Parish started holding *weekly* strawberry and ice cream festivals during the summer months. The Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists were also busy with their fund-raising projects. The local supply of strawberries ran out, and more had to be gotten from St. Paul. On the 4th of July the women of the Parish made about $70 — but the two Congregationalist societies together raised almost three times that amount.[9] (The summer of '66 was a hot one, and, as the *Central Republican* complained, there wasn't a single soda fountain in town, so ice cream was in some demand.) In 1867, just before Christmas, the Episcopal women held another festival, this time realizing about $200.[10]

In 1875, a Parish Aid Society was organized, but since an invitation was extended "to all members of the Parish," it seems doubtful that this new group was for women only.[11] However, two years later it was being called the Ladies' Aid, and had rented the former law office of Perkins and Mott on Main Street [Central Avenue] where, every Wednesday and Thursday afternoon, it would "dispense ... the very choicest refreshments ... to raise a Church Fund." (On the first afternoon they made over $10.[12]) The next year is the first time that officers of a women's organizations are listed in print — but this time the group is the new *Young* Ladies' Guild. They were: Miss Mary Greene, President; Miss Bonnie Emmitt, Secretary-Treasurer; and Miss Minnie Whallon, "Head

[8]*Central Republican*, May 25, 1864, p. 3.
[9]*Ibid.*, July 11, 1866, p. 3; the Baptists were the first to raise enough for a pipe organ, which was installed in 1867; it had six stops, the keyboard was in front of the pulpit, and the "levers" (trackers) passed under the platform to the pipe-case behind the pulpit.
[10]*Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1867, p. 3.
[11]*Democrat*, May 18, 1875, p. 3.
[12]*Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1878, p. 3; Dec. 20, 1878, p. 3.

Mistress of the Sewing School." The Young Ladies' Guild seems to have been especially interested in the Sunday School; it held two "entertainments" that year to raise money for a Christmas tree and gifts. At one they presented a humorous puppet show called "Helen's Babies" and also had fancy needlework on sale. And finally in 1878, the now-famous name of the Guild of the Good Shepherd appears.[13] Whether this was a new organization or merely a new title is unclear. At first it must have been small — perhaps even exclusive — for early in 1880 this item appeared:

It having come to the ears of the Cathedral Clergy that a large number of women in the Parish, not connected with the Guild of the Good Shepherd, were ready and anxious to engage in Church work, notice was given on the First Sunday after Epiphany that the Guild would be happy to see all such at the next meeting ... The names of nineteen women were given to the Pastor of the Parish. ...[14]

To this point, the various societies seem to have concentrated their efforts for the benefit of purely local needs — an organ, the Sunday School, a "Church Fund." Now, in 1883, the women of the Parish are challenged with a larger sphere — general Church missions. In June of that year, a Mrs. Twing, of New York City, came to Faribault hoping to stimulate interest in the Women's Auxiliary. In 1868 a national Women's Auxiliary of the Board of Missions had been founded, its aim to coordinate the work formerly carried on by a plethora of small women's missionary societies. Eventually the Auxiliary would have branches in every diocese. The Minnesota chapter had been started in St. Paul in 1882. Bishop Whipple was strong in his support of the new organization, even as he reminded the women of the enormousness of the task:

We are living in the great missionary age of the Church. There is no nation on earth where we cannot carry the Gospel. More than 800 million souls for whom Christ died have not heard that there is a Saviour![15]

For six years — 1914-1920 — a Faribault woman, Mrs. H.C. Theopold, served as president of the Minnesota Auxiliary. According to her, the Cathedral Auxiliary branch was one of the strongest in the Diocese for over fifty years.[16] A few records from that period remain at the Cathedral. In 1902, for example, the Faribault Auxiliary had 40 members; only St. John the Evangelist, Gethsemene, and the Winona Parish had larger chapters; it sent three missionary boxes and $75.16 in cash, and gave $60 to the United Thank Offering — only St. John the Evangelist's U.T.O. contribution was larger. It should be added that there was a very strong Junior Auxiliary group at St. Mary's Hall. In 1913 it sent $91.80 worth of goods and raised $533 in cash — by far the largest amount in the Minnesota J.A.[17] The Women's Auxiliary was the official women's missionary organization of the Church. Today it is known as Episcopal Churchwomen. The Minnesota branch of the E.C.W. celebrated its centennial at the Faribault Cathedral in 1981.

Women's organizations began to proliferate almost as soon as Mrs. William Gardam arrived. Not only did she take a leading role in the Women's Auxiliary and the Guild of the Good Shepherd; she also started at least three other groups — the St. Agnes Guild, the King's Daughters, and the Cornelia Whipple Society. The St. Agnes Guild was for young women of the Parish; its main project was to sponsor a Saturday morning "sewing school for children", though it also raised money for charitable work through numerous "sociables." The King's Daughters (which had both junior and senior branches) appears to have been devoted mainly to prayer and study. Organized in 1891, it may have been connected with the national Order of the Daughters of the King, which had been started in New York City six years earlier. By this time, plans for the Guild House were developing, and the King's Daughters seem to have been the first to raise money for that purpose. In February, 1891, "assisted by the ladies of the Parish," the Junior Daughters held a festival; and in November they offered to tie quilts "for 50¢ apiece if materials are furnished."[18] There is no record of how much they were able to raise.

The next year, Mrs. Gardam organized the Cornelia Whipple Society and served as its first president. The *Democrat* reported that the society would concern itself with "the middle ground between that of the Ladies' Guild and the King's Daughters"[19] — a

Anna Cole Theopold (behind net), who occasionally took time off from religious, charitable, and community work to relax, shown with Mrs. Clements. (Rice County Historical Society photo)

[13]*Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1878, p. 3.
[14]*Ibid.*, Jan. 30, 1880, p. 3.
[15]Quoted in the centennial "newspaper" of the Minnesota Episcopal Churchwomen, Oct, 14, 1981, p. 1.
[16]Anna Cole Theopold, *The Guilds of the Parish of the Good Shepherd* (notebook), p. 12.
[17]Women's Auxiliary Annual Reports, 1902-1903, 1911-1912, 1912-1913.
[18]*Democrat*, Nov. 13, 1891, p. 3.
[19]*Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1892, p. 3.

difficult statement to interpret. However, the constitution makes clear that the society's special objects would be the Sunday School, the choir, and a sewing school. The members were to attend "at least one Sunday and one week-day service and ... be specially interested in inviting people of no religious persuasion to attend Church."[20] Dues would be 5¢ every two weeks or $1 per year. A short paper would be read at each meeting, "and each member will endeavor to add one fact or item of interest connected with the subject."[21] Early meetings, like those of the other organizations, were held in the members' homes or in the "Guild Room" — the "Old Chapel on Elm Street." Beginning in 1894, they were held in the new Guild House.

The Cornelia Whipple Society is of special interest because some early records survive. A few excerpts from a meeting in 1900 give some idea of what the society and its work were like:

Mrs. Weston presented the matter of interest — viz., the importance of filling our Treasury anew, as our funds were very low just now. ... Some clothing had been donated but needed repairs. Those ladies present began to work for the _____ family. ... Mrs. Weston also selected six garments and three pairs of stockings to give to Miss Henrietta Cole's barrel of articles for the Indians — among whom she has been a missionary. Mrs. Weir gave a heavy beaver coat also to this worthy object. ... Mrs. Lynn Peavey reported on the Gas Stove [for the Guild House]. I must not omit the record of Dick's valuable service in killing a mouse that was living in the larder. ...

Very respectfully,
Mary L. Lockwood,
Sec., C.W. Guild[22]

During the tenure of Charles Slattery, the various women's groups were particularly active in sponsoring "entertainments." Some of the more ingenious productions, like the "Fakir's Fair" and the "Old Maids Convention" probably benefited from his wit and literary flair. There were twice-monthly "sociables" as well, which seem to have had good fellowship as much as fund-raising for their purpose. These suppers were served on lap-boards for two, and the cost was 10¢ per plate (later raised to a quarter).

But the major Guild activity was to be the annual bazaar. These developed in the later Slattery years. For a number of years early in the century the Second Mrs.

A Meeting at Maplewood Farm, Oct. 14, 1898

There was a special meeting of Cornelia Whipple Guild Friday afternoon at the home of Mrs. George Weston, Maplewood Farm.

The day dawned dark and cold but proved to be very pleasant.

Accordingly 20 ladies took their departure to the south, some one way, some another until at length they reached the straight road that led to Maplewood Farm. We arrived in good time with our kind hostess at the door to receive us.

There were aprons to be finished. Tongues, needles and sewing machines were kept busy until we heard the sound of the gavel from our worthy president calling the meeting to order. It was moved and seconded that we meet at the different homes during the cold weather, that we serve light, airy refreshments consisting of two things such as hard tack and tea, ice cream and cake, etc. A fine, not stated what, for the first one violating this.

The first meeting is to be held at Mrs. Wood's, 5th St., entertained by Mrs. Kinsey and Wood.

Mrs. James held the meeting spellbound for a few minutes by reading a few extracts from an Eastern paper in relation to the sessions of the House of Bishops.

The work was laid aside and something more substantial was served as the sun began to sink in the west. We were reminded that it was time to bid our hostess adieu. Having spent a very pleasant afternoon we wended our way homeward and will always remember Maplewood Farm with pleasure.

—Hattie Thompson, Sec.

[20]Minutes Book, 1899, p. 1.
[21]*Ibid.*, p. 2.
[22]*Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1900: the missionary box was valued at $100.

The Fakirs' Fair of 1900

The Fakirs have come and gone sighing for fresh fields to conquer. The fair was a success from the supper to the last fake, and during the evening the alluring cries of the red hot man and peanut vender, who was a Cracker Jack, mingled with the sweet tones of the street musicians, drew nickels if not tears from the assembly. The flowers were beautiful, warranted not to wilt, the candy and ice cream were genuine, while the fruit was the finest of its kind in the market. The fish pond was nickel plated and everyone who tried got a bite. Seldom are theatre goers favored with so fine an exhibition as that given by the Lochinvar Vaudeville Co., presenting the world famous Elopement Scene, the Taming of the Princess Kunigond and the Triumph of Nancy Lake. It was as brilliant as the late meteoric display. The fancy dance and cake walk given by Misses Flossie Heckenstein, Frances Murphy and Flora Ray were charming and encored repeatedly.

The fair was advertised as a fake yet it was not all delusion, though numerous people did see the elephant. The young ladies who planned the entertainment return thanks to the different societies that assisted them, and to the public for a generous patronage.

Whipple sent boxes of fancy artifacts from her villa in Italy. With items from Florence one year and Venice another, her booth, "Under the Evening Lamp," lent an international mystique. It belonged to Mrs. Charles Watson Newhall, however, to raise the Guild bazaar to an art form. Under her leadership, beginning in 1920, it became a phenomenon, developed a life of its own, and even required a separate organization. For her first bazaar, the Guild House was no longer adequate — she rented the Armory. The 1924 bazaar, "Petticoat Lane," which was in the Guild House, made over $1600.[23] It ran for two days, with evening "orpheum" performances under Mrs. Newhall's personal direction. Edgar Pye remembers "Aunt Nell's" variety shows as "the best this side of Chicago."

If this sounds pretty secular, it needs to be emphasized that Guild work did still have its spiritual aspect. That same year, the Women's Auxiliary, among other

Top: *Evangeline Newhall.* Left: *At the 1965 Bazaar* — from left: *Mrs. Martin Sellner (chairman), Bessie Lindberg, Mrs. James Quinlan, and (wrapping a purchase) Mrs. Charles Mulliner.*

[23]*Ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1924, p. 1; this amount was equivalent to two-thirds of the Dean's annual pay!

missionary projects, sent a box of blankets to Tokyo; boxes of clothing to the Lower Agency; boxes to the mission at Lone Tree, Burnt Fork, Wyo.; a box of preserves to Sheltering Arms Orphanage; made "pneumonia jackets" and baby clothes for the Visiting Nurse to distribute among the poor in Faribault; sewed linens for the Cathedral Room at St. Lucas Hospital; sent a box of gingham dresses to the so-called Colored Girls' Industrial School, Eastover, S.C.; provided several scholarships to mission schools in Shanghai and Hankow; and held 33 meetings (average attendance: 15) at which it studied "Rural Missions." Though specifics differed from year to year, women of the Cathedral were still doing such work forty and fifty years later. For instance, in 1957, the Guild sent 165 pounds of clothing to an Indian reservation, and two years later, profits from "Good Shepherd Bread" helped buy equipment for St. Lucas and the new Rice County District One Hospital. (In the latter year the Guild also contributed $1000 for rewiring the Cathedral and $2000 to the "Special Fund" drive.[24]

In 1927, at the suggestion of Dean Hengen, the various women's societies joined forces in a single organization, the *new* Guild of the Good Shepherd. Mrs. B.W. Cowperthwait was elected the first president. (The few remaining members of the *old* Guild in 1923 had decided to dissolve the organization. It served forty years. They used the money in the treasury to buy two seven-branched candlesticks for the Cathedral altar; now these stand on the sarcophagus in the Bishop Whipple crypt. The new Guild decided to have seven groups. Technically the membership was large — according to its constitution, every woman in the Parish belongs. For several years the groups were named after famous ships like the *Aquatania* and the *Ile de France;* but in 1937 ships were replaced by bishops — Whipple, Gilbert, Edsall, McElwain, Matthews, Keeler, and Kemerer. (In 1952 an eighth group was added, named in honor of Presiding Bishop Sherrill.) Harriet Ulvenes, who was president in 1948, remembers how the Guild members were assigned to the various groups — by drawing names from a hat: "We tried to keep it honest, but many preferred working with favorite friends, so I turned my back while it was manipulated. After the lists were distributed we each eagerly read over the names, checking off the D.T.'s ('dead timber')."

Dinners of various types were for many years a principal means of raising money for Guild projects. Throughout the 1920s the women of the Cathedral served weekly Rotary Club luncheons. At first, Guild volunteers brought casseroles, but it was soon decided to hire Mrs. Donald Cann to do the cooking; Guild members, however, still served tables and washed dishes. The annual turkey dinner was quite a social event. Mrs. Ulvenes remembers Mrs. Cann, Mrs. Cassidy, and Mrs. Ashline working at the

A band concert social on the Cathedral's front lawn in 1963.

[24] 1958 Annual Parish Report.

stoves and Dr. Clements doing all of the carving. (Mrs. Rollie Kelly, she said, always sold the most tickets.) Perhaps the most unusual one occurred — or, rather, didn't occur — in 1956:

This year the members agreed to eliminate much time and effort as well as expense to individuals working on the usual annual turkey dinner, and therefore sold tickets to a "Food-less Dinner." Receipts of $326.50 approximately equalled any anticipated return. ...[25]

There were also annual rummage sales, for many years under the direction of Mrs. Kelly and Miss Bess Lindberg, though these grew to be less popular during the '80s. Such sales were supposed to benefit those of modest means as well as raise funds for projects, but, naturally, not only the poor purchased merchandise. Mrs. Ulvenes recalls a bit of fun one year that reveals some social rivalry within the congregation:

I remember one rummage sale when Mrs. Cowperthwait brought a beautiful hat to sell, and we persuaded Mrs. Cassidy to buy it, as we thought it was most becoming on her. The next Sunday she wore it to church and, much to her chagrin, the usher seated her right in front of Mrs. Cowperthwait. Needless to say, the sermon was entirely lost to Mrs. Cassidy that day! We girls who induced her to buy that hat received quite a tongue-lashing afterwards...

Another project that was very successful for several years was the Cathedral calendar. Ruth Relyea was the one who did the historical research and designed the format, which always featured pictures of the Cathedral, and sometimes pictures of the three Church schools in Faribault as well. In 1962, over 1400 were sold in all parts of the United States.[26]

In the last two decades the Lenten soup luncheons have become something of a tradition. They began simply enough one night in the early '60s when two members of the Bishop Gilbert Group came up with an idea to raise part of the $125 that the group had been asked to contribute to the Guild fund. It occurred to Helen Truax and Liz Roehrich — almost simultaneously, it seems — that they could both make good soup, the way they had learned from their mothers. Helen would make her vegetable beef; Liz would make chicken soup with home-made noodles. The Guild had no special equipment for such an undertaking, except for a big, old granite-ware pot. The two were able to borrow soup bowls from the American Legion. This, they thought, would just be a once-only event for the Parish. There was no advertising, except in the Sunday bulletin, and perhaps thirty people showed up. But the success of this project became a topic of discussion, first in the Gilbert Group, then in the Guild at large. Even though the women would have to wait to buy proper equipment until some money had been raised, the decision was made to "go public." Lent seemed like a good manageable time

Top right: *Liz Roehrich, Flora Neumann, and Helen Truax make soup for the Guild's traditional Lenten luncheons.* (Faribault Daily News *photo)*
Bottom: *1986 Guild officers meet in the Cornelia Whipple Room* — from left: *Wilma Parker, Isabel Beckley, Mary Corsanos, Harriet Ulvenes, Chris Koutavas, Eunice Graham, Hazel Brand, Florence Niemann, and Viola Hanchett.*

[25] 1956 Annual Parish Report.
[26] 1963 Annual Parish Report.

— a period of six weeks with a definite beginning and end. Each week there would be Helen's vegetable beef and Liz's chicken noodle, as well as bread and pie. Soon it was decided to add two more varieties — different each week — made by other Guild members. One would always be meatless. By the mid-'80s it took four very large pots of soup and at least two dozen pies — all home-made — to feed the weekly crowd. Guild members — and occasionally a couple of men — did the baking. Some women who lacked time to cook, contributed money and ingredients. In the recent past, men have done a lot of the dish-washing. Mrs. Truax has made her special soup every time since the luncheons began; and until a few years ago Mrs. Roehrich did too, though now she alternates with Flora Neumann, the general chairman of the project. In 1986 the Lenten luncheons took in about $400 per week for the Guild's varied work.

In the 1980's the active membership of the Guild declined — a phenomenon typical of women's organizations throughout the Episcopal Church and many other denominations. A dedicated core group continued to maintain the Guild's traditional programs of study, missionary and charity work, and community service. Unfortunately for enterprises like the Guild, perhaps a majority of the younger women in the Parish — and many not so young — have outside jobs as well as all the responsibilities of home-life. Many also have social and civic commitments. Yet the Guild has demonstrated a tenacity of purpose unequaled by any other group in the Parish. Attendance at regular meetings is down, but a large number of women — and a few men

Two girls play on the monkey bars at Horstman Nursery School.

Horstman Memorial Nursery School

The idea of a nursery school began to develop in the fall of 1965. Eunice Graham, who was Guild president that year, was involved from the beginning but says that the "real push" came from Hiltrud Bell, the Assistant Minister's wife. Strong encouragement also came from Isabel Riekenapp, Ruth Relyea and Marvin Horstman. The Guild agreed to lend money for equipment, and the Cathedral Nursery School opened in September, 1966, with 15 children. The school started in the basement of the Guild House, and it still operates there 21 years later.

Within months, both morning and afternoon sessions became necessary, so great was the interest. The first director, Joan Meade Schreiber, had previously run a private school in her home; she had 13 years' experience.

Mr. Horstman, the Headmaster of St. James School, was the first president of the board. Other members were Eunice Graham, Hiltrud Bell, Barbara Meyer, Elaine Benson, Kathy Ayres, Jan Carpenter, and the Very Rev. John H. MacNaughton. Mr. Horstman died in April, 1967, and the school was renamed in his honor.

Progress has been steady. There have been only three directors. Sherry Hopke Kirchberg succeeded Mrs. Schreiber. Gloria Raesly has been in charge for the last eight years, and in that period the school has always been full. To accommodate 96 children requires four sections, each meeting at a different time. Often there have been fifty on the waiting list — and a few are currently pre-registered as far ahead as 1990. Four teachers are always on duty, and so the child-staff ratio is very favorable. The school has been licensed by the Minnesota Department of Human Services for many years.

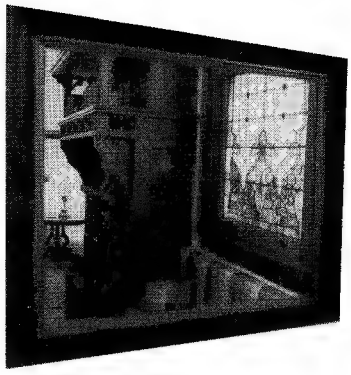
Three-, four-, and five-year-olds are exposed to a large variety of learning experiences, both in the Guild House and on field trips. The atmosphere is free and joyous, and the program's philosophy is positive:

> "The school is a place that accepts each child for what that child uniquely is. We want children to feel good about themselves."

There are four teachers in addition to Mrs. Raesly: Merry Sue Ring, Joy Meschke, Tovah Sellner, and Paula Johnson. Chris Koutavas is president of the Horstman board. The Guild of the Good Shepherd supports the school with scholarship aid.

too — turn out to support special projects. In the past three years the Guild has made several major improvements in and around the Guild House. The most notable was refurbishing Gilbert Hall. Carpet, new drapes, and new lighting were installed. The Grail frieze was renovated: the carved oak panels were refinished, and the original sepia prints were replaced with color photographs of the murals by Sir Edwin Abbey, adding greatly to the visual interest of the room. The work in Gilbert Hall alone cost over $10,000. The Guild has also built a back porch and installed a concrete driveway, installed a kitchen ventilating system and new large refrigerator, remodeled the first floor bathroom, and redecorated the Cornelia Whipple Room. It has spent several thousand dollars on needlepoint cushions for the Cathedral. The Guild continues to represent the one most stable element in the long history of the Parish and Cathedral. The involvement of men suggests that the Guild might be coming full circle — that eventually its membership, like that of the Parish Aid Society of 1875, might be open to "all members of the Parish." However, it seems unlikely that such a change will happen soon. In the meantime, the women of the Cathedral will keep finding ways to do what needs to be done.

In 1987 the Guild officers were: Chris Koutavas, President; Wilma Parker, Vice President; Hazel Brand, Secretary; and Isabel Beckley, Treasurer.



A mirror image of the fireplace mantel in the Cornelia Whipple Room, refurbished by the Guild in 1987.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

For the first 36 years of the Parish's history, the Sunday School and other educational programs had no special places of their own. In many cases, all of the classes would meet in one large room — the same space in which services were held.

By their fifth week in Faribault, James Lloyd Breck and his associates could claim a Sunday School of about twenty children and an adult Bible class of 18. The Sunday School, which met on Sunday afternoons, was really an extension of the daily religious studies of the Parish School. Besides the learning of short Biblical passages and the Prayer Book Catechism, there was much emphasis upon music and the Church's ways of worship. (It was not for nothing that Dr. Breck was nicknamed "Dr. Rubrics."[27]) Here is a brief description from October, 1858, that Breck wrote to the Sunday School of Trinity Church, Wilmington, Del.:

On the LORD'S Day these same children [of the Parish School] are seen, with others, at the Sunday School. ... All these little ones are soon, we hope, to put on CHRIST in Holy Baptism, when they will become your brothers and sisters in the Church. ... On Sunday the children ... occupy one-half of the front seats on one side of the house, whilst the infant class is seated in the chancel steps. All are taught to respond, to sing and chant, and to observe all the postures of divine worship. How beautiful it is then to behold in these remote parts of our country the same sacred services offered up to the MOST HIGH, as with you, where the Gospel has been planted for years![28]

The Dakota and Ojibwa children who lived at Andrews Hall, up on the bluff next to the Brecks, participated with their white counterparts. Miss Stella Cole, writing in 1940, recalled the story as she had heard it in her youth:

The oldest inhabitants remembered the line of Indian children walking, single file, through mud and snow in the wake of Dr. Breck, like so many pages following in the footsteps of Good King Wenseslaus, en route to Sunday or week-day lessons at the Parish School.[29]

When the Cathedral building was finished, Sunday School sessions were held there at 2:00 in the afternoon, sometimes, apparently, lasting at least a couple hours. It, in effect, became a very big one-room schoolhouse. (The Parish School continued, however, to meet in the old Church-School.) Miss Cole again describes the scene:

... Row after row of pews were occupied by classes, with a sort of insulating interval between. Here the older boys bustled importantly about in the role of secretaries or librarians. (As early as 1872 there is reported a Sunday School Library of 500 volumes.) The Rector conducted the opening service and returned for catechizing at the close; and in the mysterious twilight of December afternoons, the Rev. Edward C. Bill ... took his seat at the organ and trained the children in a spirited and delightful rehearsal of the Christmas carols.[30]

From this period there is considerable information about the content of the lessons, for questions to be studied at home were published weekly in the *Democrat*. Here is the lesson for the Twentieth Sunday After Trinity, 1871:

[27]Whipple, *Lights & Shadows*, p. 56
[28]C. Breck, *Life*, p. 359
[29]Palmer, in *Chimes*, Jan., 1940, p. 13.
[30]*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

Mrs. George B. Whipple, who taught a high school girls' class for over thirty years.

Q. What is the Collect of the Day?
A. A prayer that we may cheerfully keep God's holy will and commandments.
Q. On what does cheerfulness in the Christian life depend?
A. The power of God to protect me from harm; the mercy of God to forgive our faults; the bountiful goodness of God to supply our needs.
Q. How are we made ready to do God's will?
A. By being kept from all hurtful things.
Q. What things are hurtful?
A. Sinful things.
Q. Must we then keep from all sinful things in order to be ready to do God's will cheerfully?
A. Yes.
Q. What does "ready in body and soul" mean?
A. Prepared in body and soul.
Q. Can we be prepared to do God's will if we give up our body to intemperate pleasures?
A. No.
Q. What does St. Paul, in the Epistle for the Day, command the Ephesian Christians to do to serve God cheerfully?
A. See Eph., 5th Ch., 18, 19, 20 verses.
Q. What parable is given in the Gospel for the Day, showing forth the cheerfulness that should attend a Christian life?
A. The Marriage Feast.
Q. How ought the disciples of Christ to go through this world?
A. With great gladness, as guests to a marriage feast, abstaining from all hurtful things and cheerfully accomplishing those things which God has commanded us through Jesus Christ.[31]

Since the lessons were printed in the newspaper and the schedules of the various missions were listed, it seems likely that the same questions would have been used throughout the itineracy. It also appears that Sunday School classes ran year-round at the Cathedral at this time, though out in the country they probably did not meet regularly in the winter.[32]

Sunday School was not "all work and no play," however. There were occasional festivals and picnics. One, to celebrate the first anniversary of the consecration of the Cathedral, suggests a close bond between the Cathedral and its associated missions. Reportedly, almost 400 children came — from all the nearby missions as well as the Parish of the Good Shepherd. There was a parade, and all were led by a brass band up to the Mission House grounds for a feast.[33]

Christmas was always observed with a party. The celebration in 1875 must have been one of the more spectacular:

Christmas Eve the children of the Episcopal Sunday School were given a rare entertainment at Hill's Opera House. A short service was read, carols sung, and a short, pithy address given by the Bishop, when the curtain rose, revealing a large and heavily-laden Christmas tree, and a beautiful ship came gliding in upon the stage, well loaded with choice gifts for the faithful teachers and scholars, and manned by two little boys in sailor suits. The ship was fully rigged and beautifully trimmed with flags of all nations.[34]

And, of course, there was the annual Sunday School picnic. Probably not all were as elaborate as the one in 1877. (The article in the *Republican* went on for over half a column — a length in those days generally reserved for murders, fires, and other calamities.) A "large and merry crowd, young and old" estimated at 250 rode out to Cannon Lake in "omnibuses." One of the teachers, seeing that the 'buses were full, climbed on top of one — which became *the* place to ride. At the picnic there was no lemonade — some children had eaten most of the lemons! The great surprise attraction was the opportunity of a ride on the lake. Mr. Pond had a small new steamboat, the *Pond Lily*; he would soon be in business, carrying passengers and goods from Faribault to Warsaw. According to the article, "This was far beyond the calculations of any, and will itself serve to make this picnic an epoch among Faribault's young folks."[35]

Records are far from complete; nevertheless, a few names stand out. Charles Lowell was Superintendent for several of the early years. In the mid-'80s, when a Primary Department was set up, Mrs. William Gardam was its Principal during her husband's long tenure. Mrs. George B. Whipple taught a high school girls' class for over thirty years. Her cousin, Miss Mary Webster Whipple, after retirement from missionary work at the Lower Agency, is said to have taught a particularly challenging class. Not only was she brilliant and witty (and a bit crotchety) — she was also reputed to have had

[31] *Democrat*, Oct. 20, 1871, p. 3. The Collect read: "O Almighty and most merciful God of thy bountiful goodness keep us we beseech thee, from all things that may hurt us; that we, being ready in both body and soul, may cheerfully accomplish those things which thou commandest; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[32] The Rice County Sabbath School Convention decided in 1862 that rural Sunday Schools should be closed when roads were impassable.

[33] *Republican*, June 29, 1870, p. 3; nearby missions represented were Warsaw, Morristown, Waterville, Cannon City, Wells, Roberds Lake and Bridgewater. The Bishop hoped that it would become an annual event.

[34] *Democrat*, Dec. 31, 1875, p. 3.

[35] Aug. 1, 1877, p. 3.

a prodigious knowledge of the Bible. She owned a large collection of art books and used reproductions of famous religious paintings, thereby teaching some culture as well. She prepared many of the Sunday School teachers of the future.[36]

Though the Sunday School was always mainly for children, there were sometimes classes for adults. A popular teacher of the young men's Bible class in the '90s was the Rev. C.C. Camp, Latin and Greek master at Shattuck and Seabury. He is best remembered today for having introduced football to Shattuck and the Northwest. (His brother, Walter Camp, was the great first football coach at Yale.) C.C. Camp had a great influence: in his zestful life, manliness and godliness combined. But he died suddenly, only fifty years old. He had just become Warden of the Divinity School.[37]

In the '20s Miss Kate Cole taught Church History to a sizeable class of adults. During much of the period from 1890 to 1920 her brother-in-law, H.C. Theopold, was Superintendent.[38]

While William Gardam was Dean, Sunday School was moved to Sunday morning. The Guild House was built partly with the idea of providing adequate space for classes — and the Gilbert Hall addition was designed specifically to be the "Room for Little Children." Nevertheless, several groups would meet in the same large space — small individual classrooms were far off in the future. It was in the '90s that the switch was made from the old "uniform lessons" — the 1871 sample illustrates one type — to the newer graded curriculum.[39]

A vivid glimpse from about the turn-of-the-century comes in the autobiography of John F. Plummer. He grew up on a farm near Roberds Lake, and his earliest experience of religion was at the little mission there; but when services were discontinued for a while, he and his brother would ride their horse in to Faribault:

My first Sunday School at the Cathedral was one of rather awesome bashfulness. We were able to be on hand early and I was told to go to the Primary Room. I chose a small chair, far too small for my long legs, and waited. "Oh, look at the big baby!" observed a number of larger boys as they took their seats at the back of the room. Fortunately, one of the teachers with welcome hand led me to the class of the boys who were doing the "hooting." That Sunday the teacher told the class that as soon as the pupils could recite the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, we would be promoted to the upper class in the large assembly room. Upon our return home, this was the great news: I knew the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, taught me by my dear Mother. ...[40]

To encourage John to learn the Decalogue, Mrs. Plummer offered him a pair of white gloves. After two weeks he knew all of the commandments perfectly and wore the gloves to Sunday School.

The examination by the teacher proved my status and I was promoted, as the first boy in the upper class; not to boast, but this was somewhat to the amazement of the rowdy boys who had called me "baby." The next Sunday the new class was enlarged: the boys had learned their lesson, and were promoted also.[41]

Apparently the curriculum was based on a question in the old Prayer Book service of Holy Baptism: "... Wilt thou also take heed that this child learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health?" The upper class could concentrate on the "all other things" — probably the Catechism, mastery of which would lead to Confirmation.

Miss Stella Cole is still a living legend among many who had the experience of being in her Primary Department. Records do not tell how long she taught, but it must have been nearly thirty years. She would always wear hat and gloves and pince-nez. A great walker, though with a limp, she would call on families of children who missed even once to find out what was wrong. Her voice was soft — she would never raise it —and the children responded by listening quietly. Before the day's lesson, she would conduct a short service. Many from the '20s still remember how they would sing *Onward, Christian Soldiers,* marching around Gilbert Hall, literally "with the cross of Jesus going on before." One of the boys would lead the procession while Glenn Hammond played the piano. (For some reason, a girl never got to be crucifer.) The cross, in this case, was red and studded with "jewels." For the lesson, the center of attraction was Miss Stella's sandbox-table. It was filled with all manner of figures — both man and beast — which she would manipulate as she recreated a Bible story. She could also

Top: *Mary Webster Whipple, who taught culture as well as religion.* Below: *H.C. Theopold, Sunday School superintendent, shown here as a Shattuck cadet; many knew him as "the Duke."*

[36]Palmer *Chimes,* Jan., 1940, p. 14; *Daily News-Republican* Dec. 18, 1916, p. 1.
[37]*Republican,* Jan. 4, 1905, p. 3.
[38]Palmer, *Chimes,* Jan., 1940, p. 14.
[39]*Ibid.*
[40]John Francis Plummer, *Looking Forward,* pp. 5-6 no date, probably privately printed. (Plummer, a graduate of Seabury, spent most of his ministry in Illinois; in 1964 he was named a canon of St. James' Cathedral, Chicago.)
[41]*Ibid.*

Stella Cole, a teacher many still remember, shown here as a high school student.

Sunday School and Choir before the Twenties

"My first recollection of religion is of bringing pennies to Sunday School on my birthday. I would stand in front of the class and drop them in, one at a time. The container was a glass globe, with a metal top and feet. There was a slit in the top, and it was interesting for us youngsters to hear our coins tinkle as they fell. Now that is almost eighty years ago, and this winter a member of our church found the globe and showed it to me. It brought back memories, you can be sure! The Sunday School room (it was called the White Room then) had two or three different sizes of chairs for the various age groups. The first row was the smallest, for about a three- or four-year-old. There was a blackboard at the center of the room on the south side. It had drapes over it to pull open or shut — for what reason I still do not know. On each end of the blackboard was a shelf. On the west shelf was a statue of a youth putting his sword in the scabbard; he had one foot on a man's head that he had just cut off. I always thought it was David and the giant. ... Looking back, I don't think it was a desirable statue for young children, or anyone, to be exposed to. I don't remember what the east side was, but I think they are both gone now — thank goodness! The kindergarten teachers were Stella Cole and Bess Lindberg's sister — Margaret, I think her name was. Stella Cole was the one who drew pictures on the board, showing the life of Christ, etc. I remember rivers, lakes, mountains, and many scenes from the Bible. While she would draw with great gusto, the other lady looked after the kids. They were both very nice and I loved them. I was probably three years old when I started Sunday School. The only other parent I remember being there was Mrs. Newhall. Her son Watson was about my age, and they were there every Sunday. Mrs. Newhall wore pincenez glasses with a double black ribbon. ... I thought she was just beautiful. She always, it seems, wore black. ... One year, when I was probably eleven or twelve and sang in the choir, Dean Zoubek and I sang a duet by the Christmas tree. I was the Page, and he was Good King Wenceslaus. For several years I sang in the choir (which I hated, of course). ... One evening the choir boys had a party in the basement of the Guild House. I remember Dean Zoubek singing *Does the Spearmint Lose Its Flavor on the Bedpost Overnight?* To hear him, a representative of God, singing a song like that really bothered me. He was a nice person and had a nice voice. Our family thought he was the nicest Dean we had had up to that time. He always led the singing, and one could hear him above all the others."

—Herb Clarine

Two Chances Yet for That Straw-Ride!

Of Course You Want to Go: So DO I! And if we have 125 Pupils Present on either of the two remaining Sundays of this month, we shall ALL GO. We can easily get the ride, IF YOU ARE SURE TO BE PRESENT TO-MORROW AND NEXT SUNDAY. Be SURE TO COME!

GEORGE G. BARTLETT.

Top left: *A Sunday School pageant directed by Miss Cole.* Right: *Detail showing Herb Clarine, the fearless knight representing "Strength to Persevere."*

A Sunday School Play Picture

When I was in Sunday School, I was in a play. I was a knight. George Mee, a photographer, was taking our picture in our costumes. There was quite a group of us. We were all lined up, and he would put the black shawl over his head and get everything ready for the picture. When we were all set, he told us not to be frightened when the flash went off. That scared me right then! I was carrying a sword and a shield and had a helmet. I raised the shield up to just under my eyes — to hide behind, I guess. He touched off the flash, which I suppose was gunpowder or explosives of some kind. It was on a pan with a handle underneath. It really lit up the whole room.

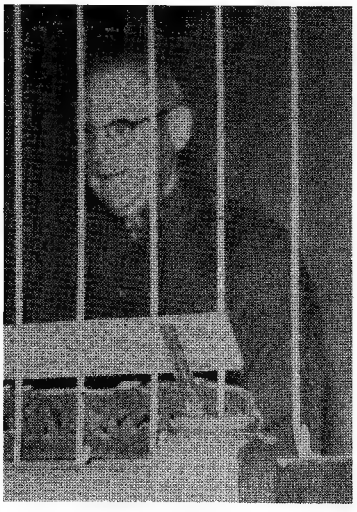
That picture is now in the glass case down in the cathedral basement. You can find me by finding the knight, [a brave one, I am sure] with just his eyes showing.

— Herb Clarine

use the blackboard to great effect. And she emphasized not only religion — she also taught manners, Christian responsibility, and respect for authority (especially one's elders). To little children she must have seemed pretty overwhelming; but one of her boys, who as a teenage acolyte got to know Miss Stella well, remembers her as "my mother confessor, my guide."[42]

During the decade that Frank Zoubek was Dean-and-Rector, there were several new developments. In 1920, Tuesday School began. "Released-time" had been approved by the Legislature, and in the first year of the Cathedral's experiment 114 children took advantage of the chance to get out of school one hour a week to study religion. (Students even received a grade which, apparently, was included on the regular report card.[43]) With more time came the opportunity to do some extra-curricular things. Soon pageants and other dramatic productions gained popularity, for drama was a means of "learning by doing." The Guild House stage featured large casts in such plays as *The Little Pilgrim and the Book Beloved* and *Why the Chimes Rang.* One morality play directed by Stella Cole proved to be so popular that a second night's performance was necessary.[44] During this period the new *Christian Nurture Series* was adopted. Used widely throughout the Church, this curriculum tried to apply some of the insights of "progressive education" and bring about greater uniformity in content. Families were

[42]Letter from Edgar Pye.
[43]The Cathedral files contain examples of (blank) report cards used in the Sunday School as early as 1900; no record has been found of when grading stopped in either school, but it was many years ago.
[44]*Democrat*, June 7, 1917, p. 3.



Top: *James M.L. Cooley of Shattuck.* Below: *Leonard McDowell, superintendent for 25 years, also played the bells and directed the acolytes.* (Faribault Daily News *photo)*

beginning to move more often, and it was hoped that children would be able in a new Sunday School to pick up where they had left off. Writing in the *Chimes*, the Curate, the Rev. Herbert Miller, claimed that there was "no better system of religious education for children": "It has been worked out by child experts and child psychologists. Are we then in a position to criticize ...? I think not."[45] Obviously he was on the defensive. Despite the active, child-oriented program, attendance was slipping. In the same editorial Miller chided parents: they must do their part — not only to send their children (whether eager to go or not) but also to see that they read the Bible and studied their assignments. This would not be the last time that the *Chimes* would speak about the problem.

Dean Hengen took a very personal interest in the Sunday School and himself conducted the short opening service each Sunday in the Guild House. Like Mr. Zoubek, he loved to sing, and taught the children his favorite hymns. They practiced *There's a Wideness in God's Mercy* until everyone knew every syllable. Some even still remember that it was number 240. They recall the St. Andrew hymn too, *Jesus Calls Us O'er the Tumult* — "number 268!" Novel approaches were used to sustain interest. For instance, in 1927, Lenten discipline was enlivened by a contest — an "Auto Race." (Cars were *very* interesting to kids in the '20s.) The 5th graders, driving a Marmon, won the race with an average of $2.18 in each of their Lenten Mite-Boxes; and the 6th graders come in a close second, averaging $2.17. (They had a Ford.) Mr. Hengen commented, "These pupils earned and saved their own money. Won't they be *real* givers when they grow up!" The children's total offering for missions that Lent amounted to about $160. During these years and for several thereafter, James M.L. Cooley of Shattuck School was Superintendent.

Sunday and Tuesday School remained fairly strong during the Depression years, and some new ventures were tried. Dean Ward came to the Cathedral with considerable experience in religious education. Even though he had been an Episcopal priest for only two years, he had previously served as a Methodist minister for twelve. He was a scholar and later would become a college and seminary professor. He was interested in the theory of learning. He was concerned that teachers be better trained. He emphasized that learning involves interaction — a clear anticipation of the direction he would take in editing the *Seabury Series* in the late '40s. Some of his plans failed for lack of interest — particularly his hopes for a year-round Sunday School and an expanded adult education program. Like most of his predecessors, he taught a Sunday morning Bible class, but he hoped to do more. He used the *Chimes* as a forum for his ideas; indeed, during his tenure it carried this sub-title, "An Interpreter of the Life and Work of the Cathedral Community ... with Particular Emphasis Upon the Values of Christian Education." He does appear to have had one great success — his ecumenical "University of Life" program. As many as 150 older high school students and young adults from the Congregational, Methodist, and Episcopal churches met together on Sunday nights for a short service, a talk (often given by one of the members), supper, discussion, and socializing. His educational interests also took several other forms: he was active at the county and state levels of the Council of Religious Education, and he helped coordinate several of the first Carleton Conferences.

During the World War II years the size of the Sunday School dropped considerably, reaching a low of 67 in 1943. Four years later, in his first Annual Report, Dean Allen was concerned that not enough parents were "being consistent" with their children — that too many left the decision about attendance up to them. Slowly numbers began to increase. By 1950 there were about a hundred, and about 175 by the end of the decade — close to the size of the Sunday School in the early '30s. In 1960 Leonard McDowell retired after having served as Superintendent for 25 years.

Under Dean MacNaughton, Christian Education programs began to expand. In the fall of 1962, the Cathedral started its own Tuesday and Wednesday School program. (For many years, Tuesday released-time classes had been run jointly by four churches, and only about a third of the children of the Parish had been involved.) The object now was to sign up as many Cathedral children and youth as possible, in grades 3 through senior high school, and to coordinate the mid-week and Sunday School curricula.

[45] Jan. 26, 1924, pp. 1 & 4.

Tales from Sunday School

The Sunday School teacher was trying to explain about the Advent Season to her first grade class. She said, "The word Advent means coming." "Can anyone tell me who is coming?" (She expected them to say, *Baby Jesus.*) Just then Gary Siemers, who picked up the collection, opened the door to the room, and all the children cried *Gary.*

* * *

The first grade teacher was telling the story of Jesus and the Fishermen. Afterwards the children all drew pictures. They really had fun making the boat and the high waves. Some made dark clouds and rain drops. The teacher was admiring their pictures when she came across one that was decidedly different. She said, "What have we here?" The little girl said with pride, "It is a picture of a girl with a purse."

* * *

A little girl came home from Sunday School and very excitedly said to her Mother, "Do you know there is a man named Henry buried under our church?"

Middle: *Isabel Beckley's 1st Grade class, 1948* — front, from left: *Richard Good, Ann Sartell, Linda Blaisdell, Mary Kay Lockwood, Janice McDowell, Michael Parmelee;* back: *Gertrude Ennis, Allen McIntyre, Kent Crossley, Jeanne Purrington, Dave Quinlan, Unknown, Janice Cleeworth.* Below: *Three children in Vacation Bible School, 1962, coloring Bible story pictures* — from left: *Linda Briese, Jamie Ebert, Deborah Carpenter. (*Faribault Daily News *photo)*

Two views of the Sunday School today — top right: *Lynn Babcock and his class relax with balloons after a lesson on the Ten Commandments. (The balloons all have the name* Jesus *on them.)* Below: *June Muchow's class holds hands and learns to pray together.*

(Grades 7 through 12 met on Tuesdays, 3 through 6 on Wednesdays.) In the mid-'60s films on Biblical themes were added. Adult education was also revived: in 1962 MacNaughton reported that over one hundred adults were involved, in seven study groups. In 1965 Bishop McNairy held a five-day preaching mission on "basic Christianity." Average attendance was reported to be almost 300. A study-at-home course on the Gospel According to St. Mark was offered, and 35 signed up. (MacNaughton was the author of the course.) 76 pledged to follow a "rule of life" for six months. In October, 1966, eleven adults began the two-year teacher-training phase of the *Bethel Series*, a Bible study program that had been developed under Lutheran auspices. Eight-to-ten hours' preparation time was expected each week; not only would most of the Bible be read; a great many "concepts" and Scriptural references would have to be memorized. About fifty enrolled in the first classes open to the congregation. At first there seems to have been considerable interest; however, *Bethel* never really did catch on. Long before the parish phase began, MacNaughton, the impetus behind the program, had moved on. *Bethel* materials would be used from time to time in adult

study groups and even in Tuesday School, but never as originally intended.

In recent years the education program at the Cathedral has been more modest. There has been frequent turnover, both in staff and in teaching materials. Enrollment has been smaller. After experiments with the *Seabury Series* and curricula from various denominations, the Sunday School staff in 1979 decided to use *Living the Good News* (also called the "Colorado Curriculum"). "Colorado" is based on the schedule of Scriptural readings used at Sunday services; students at all levels study the same basic material, but with different emphases and activities. Until 1986, children attended the first part of the morning service in the Cathedral, then went to the Guild House for classes; now, however, they have classes first and join the service at the offertory. The Tuesday School curriculum is now limited to a three-year program leading to Confirmation. Recent Superintendents have included Barb Ebert, Chris Koutavas, and Lynn Babcock.

The Sunday School staff in 1987 included: Chris Rodewald and Barb Ebert, Preschool; June Muchow and Denise Babcock, Kindergarten-3rd Grade; and Lynn Babcock, 4th-6th Grades. (Mr. Babcock was also head of the Education Commission of the Cathedral Chapter, and Mr. Rodewald was his assistant.) The Dean and Chris Koutavas taught Tuesday School classes.

Members of the Cathedral Men's Club about to leave for the Fall 1959 Deanery meeting — from left: *Sanford Beattie, Donald Briese, Alvin McIntyre, K. Chase Batchelder, Gil Truax, Harry Berg, Louis Atkins, George Kingham, C.M. Vanderpool, Dean MacNaughton, George Fuller, Harold Roach, Ken Agerter.* (Faribault Daily News *photo)*

ACTIVITIES FOR BOYS AND MEN

Developing and holding the interest of boys — and especially men — is a problem as old as the Parish. In the very early days there was a "brotherhood" which sponsored social events and maintained a reading room. How long the group lasted is unclear. In 1895 a boys' club was started, and also a chapter of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, an evangelical organization for both men and boys. A Cathedral Club was started by Dean Slattery to encourage men to attend church on Sunday evenings. It staged several large and successful dinners and social events, but interest eventually dwindled.

Dean Matthews resuscitated the club in 1913, and the time was right. Men and boys wanted not only an organization but a program. Late the next year a front-page story in the *Daily Republican* reported "unusual activity in the gymnasium." The Cathedral Club had taken over the basement of the Guild House. The membership fee was high —$6 — but there was something going on almost every night of the week. Otto Kummer, one of the boys in the club, was quoted in the article: "There's nothing

better in town." About 25 boys were trying out for the Cathedral's two basketball teams, the All-Stars and the Midgets. Another billiard table was needed — there was "a line of boys all the time wanting to play." A weekly gym class for businessmen had been organized, and "advanced pupils" would "be at liberty to do hair-raising stunts to their hearts' content." Almost immediately, to encourage even greater participation by non-Episcopalians, the name was changed to the Faribo Club, and management was turned over to a non-denominational board.[46] The club continued to use the Guild House for several more years, however.

The Cathedral Boy Scout troop officially began in April, 1914, but there were unofficial activities as early as the previous summer:

The Cathedral Troop ... are in camp this week on the north shore of Roberds Lake and are having the time of their lives. They are in the charge of Mr. Sumner, of the junior class of Seabury, who is ably assisted by Senior Warden Theopold, who is on guard nights, stakes down the tent when it rains, holds it up when the wind blows, cooks the meals, washes the dishes, and busies himself with other odd jobs as required. He is having a big time too.[47]

Scouting had been organized in the United States in 1910, and so the Cathedral's troop was one of the earliest in the Midwest. At first it was known as Troop No. 4, with a charter from the national headquarters; in the early 1920s it became Troop No. 1 of the South Central Minnesota Area Council — which it remained until 1945, when it was redesignated Troop No. 301 of the St. Paul Area Council. Benjamin Dagwell, another Seabury student, was the first official Scoutmaster. (Dean Matthews had hired him for $25 a month to run a summer recreational program for the choir boys.) After Dagwell left Faribault — he eventually became Bishop of Oregon — the Rev. Frank Zoubek kept the troop going, serving as Scoutmaster for eight years. Not surprisingly, several early members not only continued on as adult leaders in the troop but also assumed other important responsibilities in the Parish.

On April 25, 1964, the Cathedral troop held a Golden Anniversary Court of Honor in the Guild House. Dr. Asa Graham, the Scoutmaster, had served in that capacity since 1959. Lester Swanberg, a member of the Cathedral Scout Committee for 32 years, presided. Irwin Smith, connected with the troop for 39 years, mentioned three boys who had become Eagle Scouts when he was Scoutmaster — one of whom, Donald B. Purrington, was involved with Scouting for many years and Cathedral Scoutmaster for 13. Dr. C. Walter Rumpf, Senior Warden and a member of the troop at the beginning, gave the main address. Dr. Rumpf was not only an ardent churchman but also a veteran of three wars, and he told the boys, "Be as patriotic as you can be all of the time."

In the troop's fiftieth year, 22 boys were involved; six years later, in 1970, Scoutmaster Dennis Anderson had eight boys and was struggling to keep the program alive. In the early 1970s the troop's long history came to an end. Since its beginning in 1914, however, over a thousand boys had benefited, more than twenty had become Eagle Scouts, and several had earned the "For God and Country" award.[48]

The Cathedral Troop in 1966 — front row, from left: *Tom Kaul (Assistant Troop Leader), Vernon Marshall, Bob Zetterland, Jeff Sandeen, Jim Fischer, Bruce Eiler, Tom Truax, Douglas Fischer;* back: *Dr. Asa Graham (Scoutmaster), Erland Shager, Lorren Beneke (Assistant Patrol Leader), Ken Koopmans (Patrol Leader), Richard Sandeen (Patrol Leader), Charles Jones (Senior Patrol Leader).* (Faribault Daily News *photo)*

[46]Dec. 3, 1914, p. 1; Dec. 9, p. 6; Jan. 9, 1915, p. 1.
[47]*Democrat*, August 1, 1913 p. 2
[48]*Daily News*, April 25, 1970, p. 7.

Cathedral Girl Scout picnic circa *1924.* Middle: *Glenn Hammond, Leader;* lower left: *Blackie, their mascot. Among those pictured: Adele Klemer, Maxine Venero, Anne Mathis, Jane Miller, Helen Graham, Gertrude Meisieke. Note marshmallows. (Photo lent by Isabel Beckley)*

ACTIVITIES FOR GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN

There had been various guilds and societies for young women off and on before the turn of the century, but very few activities for girls — at least very few seem to have been recorded. 1913 was an important year for girls as well as boys, for in November Miss Matilda Hutchinson came from Evanston to help begin a chapter of the Girls' Friendly Society, a national Episcopal organization. Its purpose would be "instruction in various industrial subjects and to promote social intercourse. ..."[49] The story becomes confusing, for the name *Cathedral Girls' Club* also appears — apparently for the same group.) By the next spring classes were being offered every Wednesday night in the Guild House: "Arts and crafts are in charge of Miss Beatrice Lindberg; the History of Art, Miss Stella Cole; Calisthenics, Miss Priester; Millinery, Miss Schoops; a chorus class is under instruction of Mr. Bishop, a student at Seabury." There were also plans for summer recreation: "The Vaux cottage at Roberds Lake has been rented ... and will be occupied in July."[50] By 1916, about 35 girls were involved. Mrs. Alfred Hoyt Bill was the leader, and "upon [her] suggestion, the girls very enthusiastically decided to devote one evening a month to some altruistic task, such as sewing for a poor girl in the Southern Mountains." (They also hoped to do some work to benefit "needy ones" in Faribault.) On the other Wednesdays there would be dancing and acting lessons. "Classes for the study of any subject, or along any vocational lines, for which there is sufficient demand, will be offered."[51] Fancy-work was especially emphasized, and the teachers' expectations were sometimes high. Alexandra Pye remembers hearing about that:

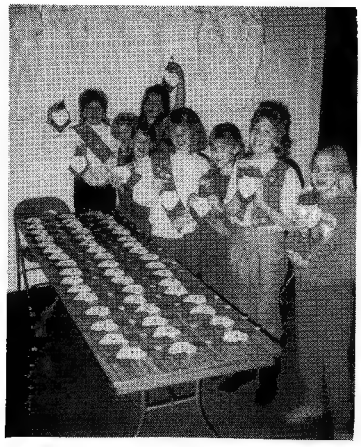
"Mother learned to sew from Stella and Kate Cole; they were her godparents, I believe. She did a fine job in hemming, with fine stitches, a handkerchief or some garment, only to be told by the Misses Cole that it was 'good basting.' She was crestfallen."[52]

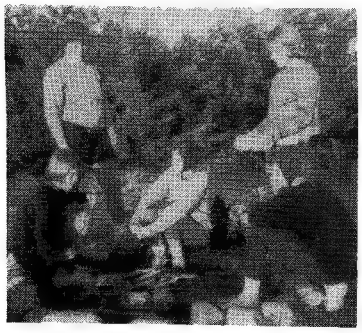
The club was a thriving operation until the early '20s. Dean Zoubek must have been a strong supporter of its work, for he told the 1922 annual meeting of the Parish that "appropriation for the girls' activities ... should be equal to the amount allowed for the boys." Interest in the Friendly declined, but by 1927 it was active once more. When Harriet Ulvenes became involved, the group had aged a bit:

"I can recall as a new member of the church and a young bride joining the Girls' Friendly Society ('girls' questionable, as many would never see fifty again!) led by an enthusiastic leader, Mrs. Hengen, our Dean's wife. She was a beautiful person, and for fun we had a class in beginners' bridge — and, believe it or not, lessons in tap dancing. There wasn't much talent, but we did have fun." [53]

The Girls' Friendly, like the Boys' Club was mainly social, though many useful skills were taught. Through such organizations, young people learned to love the Cathedral. Here and there tangible evidences of that love remain. For example, in the undercroft there is a large oak cabinet for choir vestments; a little brass plaque says that it was

[49]*Democrat,* Nov. 14, 1913 p. 3
[50]*Democrat,* Apr. 17, 1914, p. 3.
[51]*Chimes,* Oct., 1916, p. 10.
[52]Letter from Mrs. Pye, Apr. 1, 1985
[53]Recollections (not dated)





Top: *Washington School Girl Scout Troop 106, which meets in the Guild House, made Santa napkin tray favors for Meals-on-Wheels* — from left: *Amy Nelson, Becky Clausen, Jessica Taft, Sarah Hardy, Katie Gerbig, Stephanie Bremer, Shelley Christensen, Karin Larson. (Not pictured: Nicole Kittleson, and the leaders of the troop — Donna Bremer, Cassie Gerbig, Joyce Christensen.)*

Below: *Camping at Singing Hills, 1964* — in back: *Pat Koopmans, Melinda Elledge;* front: *Nancy Onkka, Cathie Conklin, Unknown.* Right: *Awards ceremony in the Guild House, 1963* — from left: *Nancy Onkka, Jean Palmer, Anne Jones, Kathy Nienow, Carol Jean Sellner, Janice Minske — all 9th graders. Leaders not shown: Marcia Onkka and Mavis Nienow.*

given by the Girls' Friendly.

The Girl Scout troop was organized about five years after Boy Scouts. On November 18, 1919, a senior troop was organized at the Guild House. It took the name *Sah Qua Sipi.* This was not the first Girl Scout group in Faribault: pride of place belongs to the Congregationalists who started a junior troop two weeks earlier. Miss Laura Cross, a public school teacher, was the first captain of the Cathedral troop; Miss Ada Beardsley and Miss Gertrude Pierce were the first acting lieutenants. A junior troop was organized at the Guild House on January 7, 1920.[54] Soon the older girls braved the elements and went on an outing:

Saturday last the Senior Girl Scouts of the Cathedral group made their first hike, and while the Girl Scouts are all right and the hike was all right, the lovely part of it all is the fact that the girls carried packages of suet, breadcrumbs and the like, which were scattered where birds could find them without trouble.[55]

The next week they organized two basketball teams. Games would be every Tuesday night in the Guild House gym.

By about 1924 a Camp Fire Girls group had supplanted the Girl Scout troop at the Cathedral, but there was greater support in Faribault for the Scouts and so in 1931 the troop was reactivated. Isabel Beckley led the Girl Scouts from then until 1940. She remembers one meeting in 1931 especially well: the girls were making cocoa in the Guild House kitchen when, suddenly, they were diverted by excitement outside — the Court House was on fire, and by the time they got back to the kitchen the cocoa was burned beyond redemption. Another highlight was their presentation of *Alice in Wonderland* at the 1937 Guild bazaar. Betty Ulvenes was Alice, Charlotte Conklin the Queen of Hearts, and Ila Peterson Chesney the Mad Hatter. Once, with Hannah Meyer, the leader at the Deaf School, the troop learned to fry eggs "Indian style" — on hot rocks in a hole.

The Cathedral troop had its ups and downs. In 1956 there were 17 girls involved; Annabelle Lockwood was the leader. By 1960, when Marcia Onkka was in charge, membership had plummeted to twelve; but the next year it was up to fifty — and about the only Episcopalian girl in the whole group was Nancy Onkka! There had been a significant demographic shift: the group was now a Cadette troop, made up entirely of junior-high-age girls. Nancy attended the last Girl Scout Round-up in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, in 1965. It was a time when school activities were more appealing and Scouting was no longer "in". The Cathedral troop lasted into the early '70s. Mrs. Onkka, however, continued to work on the council level. Already, in 1966, she had served on the steering committee of the capital fund drive for Singing Hills Camp, and the following summer she had directed the first encampment. She would be the second recipient of the "Thanks Badge," the highest honor bestowed by the Cannon Valley Girl Scout Council.[56]

Since 1985, a junior Girl Scout troop from Washington School has been meeting in the Guild House. In 1987 there were eight girls involved. The Parish sponsored the troop, and Donna Bremer, a member of the Cathedral, was one of the leaders.

[54]Mary Bendt, *A Glimpse of the Past,* (not paginated)
[55]*Democrat,* Dec. 12, 1919, p. 3.
[56]Bendt (not paginated)

APPENDIX III

LISTS, LISTS, LISTS ...

BISHOPS OF THE DIOCESE OF MINNESOTA

1859-1901 The Rt. Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple
Assistant Bishop: The Rt. Rev. Mahlon Norris Gilbert, *1886-1900*
1901-1917 The Rt. Rev. Samuel Cook Edsall (*elected Coadjutor, 1901*)
1917-1943 The Rt. Rev. Frank Arthur McElwain (*elected Suffragan, 1912*)
1944-1956 The Rt. Rev. Stephen Edwards Keeler (*elected Coadjutor, 1931*)
Suffragan Bishop: The Rt. Rev. Benjamin Tibbitts Kemerer, *1944-1948 (former Bishop of Duluth)*
1956-1970 The Rt. Rev. Hamilton Hyde Kellogg (*elected Coadjutor, 1952*)
1971-1978 The Rt. Rev. Philip F. McNairy (*elected Suffragan, 1958; Coadjutor, 1968*)
1978- The Rt. Rev. Robert Marshall Anderson (*elected Coadjutor, 1977*)
Assistant Bishops: The Rt. Rev. William Dimmick, *1981-1984 (former Bishop of Northern Michigan)*, and the Rt. Rev. Robert Varley, *1981-1986 (former Bishop of Nebraska)*

RECTORS OF THE PARISH

1858-1859 The Rev. David P. Sanford (October-March)
1859-1867 The Rev. James Lloyd Breck, D.D.
1867-1869 The Rev. George DuBois, D.D.

RECTORS OF THE PARISH & "ASSISTANT MINISTERS" OF THE CATHEDRAL

1869 The Rev. George DuBois, D.D. (June-November)
1869-1870 The Rev. George B. Whipple (November-November)
1871-1874 The Rev. Herman G. Wood
1874-1884 The Rev. George B. Whipple
1884-1887 The Rev. Asa A. Abbott, D.D.
1887-1892 The Rev. William Gardam

DEANS-&-RECTORS OF THE CATHEDRAL-PARISH

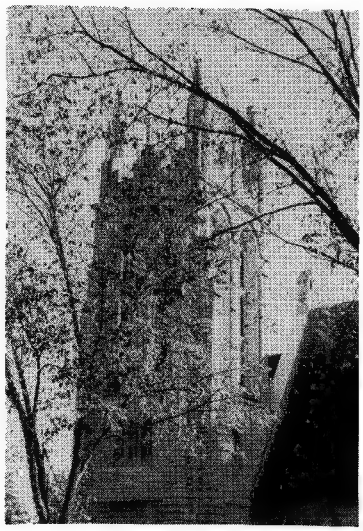
1892-1896 The Very Rev. William Gardam
1896-1907 The Very Rev. Charles Lewis Slattery, D.D.
1908-1911 The Very Rev. George G. Bartlett, S.T.D.
1911-1912 The Very Rev. Frank A. McElwain, S.T.D.
1913-1914 The Very Rev. Paul Matthews, S.T.D.
1915-1925 The Very Rev. Frank Zoubek
1925-1933 The Very Rev. William Charles Hengen
1933-1941 The Very Rev. Vesper O. Ward

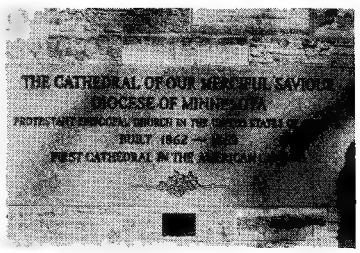
DEANS OF THE CATHEDRAL

1941-1946 The Very Rev. Osborne Littleford
1946-1955 The Very Rev. Charles R. Allen
1956-1958 The Very Rev. Russell Murphy
1958-1966 The Very Rev. John H. MacNaughton
1967-1969 The Very Rev. Ernest F. Campbell
1970-1974 The Very Rev. Thomas D. Hughes
1975-1978 The Very Rev. Daniel Swenson
1979- The Very Rev. Thomas E. Winkler

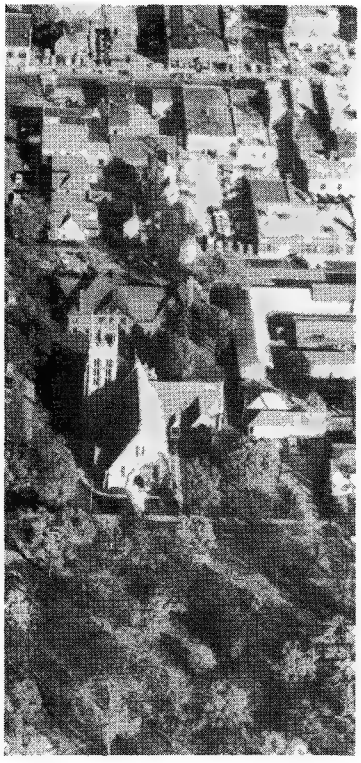
CURATES & OTHER STAFF ASSISTANT CLERGY

1859-1864 The Rev. Solon W. Manney, D.D., *Assistant in the Parish*
1875-1889 The Rev. Edward Clark Bill, D.D., *Associate Minister of the Cathedral and Precentor*
1897-1898 The Rev. Philip H. Linley, *Curate*
1899-1900 The Rev. Charles Poole, S.T.D., *Curate*
1901 The Rev. Frederick H. Rowse, *Curate and Organist*
1902 The Rev. Allen Jacobs, *Curate*
1903-1905 The Rev. Charles F. Carson, *Curate*
1905-1906 The Rev. Alfred Reed Hill, *Canon Missioner and Curate*
1906-1907 The Rev. Gaylord G. Bennett, *Curate*
1913-1914 The Rev. Edwin S. Carson, *Vicar of the Cathedral*
1914-1915 The Rev. Frank Zoubek, *Vicar of the Cathedral*
1923-1925 The Rev. Herbert L. Miller, *Curate and Organist*
1934-1935 The Rev. Galen H. Onstad, *Canon Missionary*
1935-1937 The Rev. Miller Sale, *Canon Missionary*
1937 The Rev. George F. Huefner, *Canon Missionary*
1937-1941 The Rev. Herbert B. Morris, *Canon Missionary and Precentor*
1961-1965 The Rev. Karl E. Bell, *Assistant Minister*
1965-1967 The Rev. John A. Holmen, *Assistant Minister*
1979- The Rev. Donald S. Wafler, *Deacon*





Top: *The Cathedral tower, seen through spring leaves.* Below: *Stone in honor of "the first cathedral" in the west wall, with small plaque underneath, a memorial to Dean Hengen.*



Aerial view of the Cathedral, 1963, looking eastward.

CANONS OF THE CATHEDRAL*

The Rev. Francis L. Palmer, D.D., *Historiographer of the Diocese; Instructor at Seabury Divinity School*
The Rev. F.F. Kramer, Ph.D., *Warden of Seabury Divinity School*
The Rev. F.H. Hallock, D.D., *Instructor at Seabury Divinity School*
The Rev. Guy C. Menefee, D.D., *Instructor at Seabury Divinity School*
The Rev. Charles C. Rollitt, D.D., *Instructor at Seabury Divinity School*
The Rev. Victor Pinkham, *Rector of All Saints', Northfield and Chaplain of Shattuck School*
The Rev. Paul Kramer, Ph.D., *Professor at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary*
The Rev. Donald Henning, D.D., *Rector and Headmaster of Shattuck School*
The Rev. Fred Tyner, *Rector of St. Luke's, Minneapolis*
The Rev. Sidney W. Goldsmith, D.D., *Rector and Headmaster of Shattuck School*
The Rev. Joseph M. McKee, *Chaplain of Shattuck School*
The Rev. Allen F. Bray III, *Rector and Headmaster of St. James School; Rector and Headmaster of the Bishop Whipple Schools*
The Rev. Lloyd Gesner, *Rector and Headmaster of St. Mary's Hall*
The Rev. William P. Scheel, *Associate Chaplain of Shattuck School*
The Rev. Frank Zoubek, *Rector of St. Mary's Church, St. Paul, and Senior Priest of the Diocese; Former Dean of the Cathedral*
The Rev. E. John Dyer, Ed.D., *Rector and Headmaster of the Bishop Whipple Schools*
The Rev. David Upton, *Chaplain of the Bishop Whipple Schools*
The Rev. Andrew Otani, *Priest in charge of Japanese Work*
The Ven. Henry Hoover, *Archdeacon of the Diocese*
The Rev. H. Boone Porter, *Editor of* The Living Church
The Rev. George Smith, *Ojibwa Priest*

*Not including Curates who were also Canon Missioners

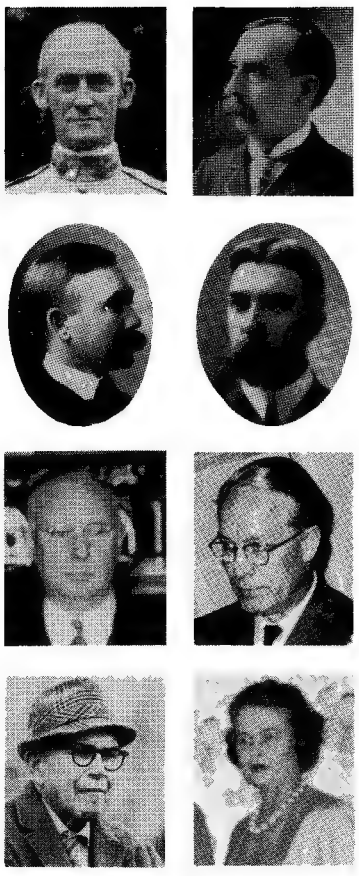
INTERIM PRIESTS-IN-CHARGE

1896	The Rev. Charles C. Camp
1912-1913	The Rev. F.F. Kramer, Ph.D.
1925	The Rev. F.F. Kramer, Ph.D.
1958	The Rev. Sidney W. Goldsmith, D.D.
1974-1975	The Rev. David Upton
1979	The Rev. Richard Byrd, Ph.D.

WARDENS

	Senior Warden	Junior Warden
1858	Thomas Y. Sentell	J.C.N. Cottrell
1859	Thomas Y. Sentell	J.C.N. Cottrell
1860	Thomas Y. Sentell	J.C.N. Cottrell
	* * * * *	
	[No records have been found for this decade.]	
	* * * * *	
1871	J.D. Greene	D.L. Booth
1872	J.D. Greene	D.L. Booth
1873	Samuel Crossett	C.H. Whipple
1874	Samuel Crossett	C.H. Whipple
1875	J.D. Greene	C.L. Lowell
1876	J.D. Greene	C.L. Lowell
1877	J.D. Greene	C.L. Lowell
1878	C.L. Lowell	J.C.N. Cottrell
1879	C.L. Lowell	J.C.N. Cottrell
1880	C.L. Lowell	J.C.N. Cottrell
1881	C.L. Lowell	J.C.N. Cottrell
1882	C.L. Lowell	J.C.N. Cottrell
1883	C.L. Lowell	J.C.N. Cottrell
1884	C.L. Lowell	J.C.N. Cottrell
1885	A.E. Haven	S.L. Crocker
1886	A.E. Haven	S.L. Crocker
1887	A.E. Haven	S.L. Crocker
1888	A.E. Haven	S.L. Crocker
1889	A.E. Haven	S.L. Crocker
1890	A.E. Haven	S.L. Crocker
1891	A.E. Haven	S.L. Crocker
1892	S.L. Crocker	Charles M. Whitney
1893	S.L. Crocker	Charles M. Whitney
1894	S.L. Crocker	Charles M. Whitney
1895	Thomas Carpenter	H.C. Theopold
1896	Thomas Carpenter	H.C. Theopold
1897	Charles Weston	H.C. Theopold
1898	Charles Weston	H.C. Theopold
1899	Charles Weston	H.C. Theopold
1900	Charles Weston	H.C. Theopold
1901	Charles Weston	H.C. Theopold
1902	Charles Weston	H.C. Theopold
1903	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1904	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1905	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1906	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1907	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1908	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1909	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1910	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1911	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1912	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1913	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1914	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1915	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1916	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1917	H.C. Theopold	James R. Smith
1918	H.C. Theopold	Alfred H. Bill
1919	H.C. Theopold	Alfred H. Bill
1920	H.C. Theopold	Alfred H. Bill
1921	H.C. Theopold	B.W. Cowperthwait

	Senior Warden	Junior Warden
1922	H.C. Theopold	B.W. Cowperthwait
1923	H.C. Theopold	B.W. Cowperthwait
1924	Willis Shaft	G.S. Weston
1925	Willis Shaft	G.S. Weston
1926	Willis Shaft	G.S. Weston
1927	Willis Shaft	G.S. Weston
1928	G.S. Weston	D.F. Bangs
1929	G.S. Weston	E.H. Gipson
1930	D.F. Bangs (declined)	Harry B. Smith (replaced Bangs)
	Harry B. Smith (elected by Vestry)	F.U. Davis (elected by Vestry)
1931	Harry B. Smith	F.U. Davis
1932	Harry B. Smith	F.U. Davis
1933	Harry B. Smith	F.U. Davis
1934	Harry B. Smith	F.U. Davis
1935	Harry B. Smith	F.U. Davis
1936	E.J. Kiekenapp	Roger Peavey
1937	E.J. Kiekenapp	Roger Peavey
1938	E.J. Kiekenapp	C. Walter Rumpf (appointed by Vestry)
1939	E.J. Kiekenapp	C. Walter Rumpf
1940	L.M. Elstad	C. Walter Rumpf
1941	L.M. Elstad	C. Walter Rumpf
1942	L.M. Elstad	Irwin Smith
1943	B.W. Cowperthwait	Irwin Smith
1944	B.W. Cowperthwait	Irwin Smith
1945	B.W. Cowperthwait	Irwin Smith
1946	Irwin Smith	Harold Robilliard
1947	Irwin Smith	Monte Balfour
1948	Irwin Smith	Monte Balfour
1949	Irwin Smith	G. Richard Kingham
1950	Howard Quigley	Kenneth S. Agerter
1951	Howard Quigley	Kenneth S. Agerter
1952	Howard Quigley	Kenneth S. Agerter
1953	Howard Quigley	Roger Kiekenapp
1954	C. Walter Rumpf	A.M. Greenshields
1955	C. Walter Rumpf	A.M. Greenshields
1956	A.M. Greenshields	Harold Roach
1957	Donald Grant	Harold Roach
1958	Howard Quigley	Sanford Beattie
1959	Howard Quigley	Sanford Beattie
1960	Howard Quigley	Howard Ulvenes
1961	Howard Quigley	Robert P. Meyer
1962	Howard Quigley	Robert P. Meyer
1963	Howard Quigley	Robert P. Meyer
1964	C. Walter Rumpf	Robert P. Meyer
1965	C. Walter Rumpf	Robert P. Meyer
1966	C. Walter Rumpf	Robert P. Meyer
1967	Robert P. Meyer	Paul Onkka
1968	Paul Onkka	Donald S. Wafler
1969	Paul Onkka	Donald S. Wafler
1970	Paul Onkka	Donald S. Wafler
1971	Paul Onkka	Donald S. Wafler
1972	Donald S. Wafler	Isabella Kiekenapp
1973	Donald S. Wafler	Isabella Kiekenapp
1974	Donald S. Wafler	Kenneth Relyea
1975	Donald S. Wafler	Kenneth Relyea
1976	Donald S. Wafler	Kenneth Relyea
1977	John Parker	Charles Champlin
1978	John Parker	Charles Champlin
1979	Albin Onsrud	Charles Champlin
1980	Albin Onsrud	Charles Champlin
1981	Paul Onkka	John Andrews
1982	Paul Onkka	John Andrews
1983	Paul Onkka	John Andrews
1984	Paul Onkka	John Andrews
1985	Paul Onkka	John Andrews
1986	Paul Onkka	John Andrews
1987	Paul Onkka	John Andrews



A few past junior and senior wardens — from top left: *Charles H. Whipple, A.E. Haven; James R. Smith, H.C. Theopold; Irwin Smith, Howard Quigley; Dr. C. Walter Rumpf, Isabella Kiekenapp.*

THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER, 1987

CLERGY MEMBERS, *ex officio:*
The Rt. Rev. Robert M. Anderson, *Bishop of Minnesota*
The Very Rev. Thomas E. Winkler, *Dean of the Cathedral*
The Rev. Donald S. Wafler, *Deacon at the Cathedral*
Resident Canons, if any, of the Cathedral

LAY MEMBERS, *elected by the Parish:*
Paul Onkka, *Senior Warden*
John Andrews, *Junior Warden*
Connie Reineke, *Stewardship*
Michael Parmelee, *Property*
Isabel Beckley, *Fellowship & Hospitality*
Lynn Babcock, *Education*
Chris Rodewald, *Education (Assistant)*
Liz Roehrich, *Worship, and Clerk of the Chapter*[1]
Rene Pagan, *Worship (Assistant)*
Elaine Herron, *Outreach*
Beth Westerhouse, *Outreach (Assistant)*

Appointed by the Chapter:
Candice Greeley, *Parish Treasurer*[2]

[1]The Parish Secretary, Joyce Ross, takes minutes of meetings; the Clerk signs official papers.
[2]Technically, the Treasurer is not a member of the chapter.

Woman's Exchange!
OPEN EVERY SATURDAY from 2 to 5 P. M.
IN GUILD HOUSE.
This exchange is for the benefit of ladies of every denomination.
Fancy articles, farm products and cooked food exchanged and sold.

Top: *Advertisement from 1895.* Below: *The Guild House in 1987, from the northwest.* Bottom — *two pictures of Guild activities in the 1960s* — left: *Mrs. George Kingham (center) visits with other ladies at the 1965 bazaar;* right: *Mrs. Gershmehl, Mrs. Reymann, Mrs. Paul Meyer, and Mrs. Kronke at a ham dinner in 1966.*

GUILD PRESIDENTS

The Young Ladies' Guild

1878 & 1879 Miss Mary Greene

The Cornelia Whipple Guild

1892-1894 Mrs. William Gardam
1895-1897 Mrs. E.L. Kinsey
1898-1902 Mrs. George Weston

* * * * *

1918 & 1919 Mrs. E.H. Gipson
1920 Mrs. Norman Hedges

The Women's Auxiliary

1893 Mrs. S.L. Hill

* * * * *

The 'New' Guild of the Good Shepherd

1927 Mrs. B.W. Cowperthwait
1928 Mrs. Walter Klemer
1929 Mrs. Walter Klemer
1930 Mrs. F.U. Davis
1931 Mrs. F.U. Davis
1932 Mrs. F.U. Davis
1933 Mrs. Lynn Peavey
1934 Mrs. Lynn Peavey
1935 Mrs. W.B. Carns
1936 Mrs. Walter Schultz
1937 Mrs. Charles W. Newhall
1938 Mrs. Haessley
1939 Mrs. Tronson
1940 Mrs. Malcolm Sime
1941 Mrs. Roger Kiekenapp
1942 Mrs. Roger Kiekenapp
1943 Mrs. Donald Henning
1944 Mrs. Donald Henning
1945 Mrs. Alfred Fleckenstein
1946 Mrs. Donald Henning
1947 Mrs. Alfred Fleckenstein

June-May ...

1948-49 Mrs. Howard Ulvenes
1949-50 Mrs. Chester Puffer
1950-51 Mrs. Walter Dokken & Mrs. Emerson Lewer, "Co-Chairmen"
1951-52 Mrs. K. Chase Batchelder
1952-53 Mrs. William Pagenkopf
1953-54 Mrs. William Pagenkopf
1954-55 Mrs. K. Chase Batchelder
1955-56 Mrs. K. Chase Batchelder
1956-57 Mrs. Kenneth Relyea
1957-58 Mrs. Kenneth Relyea
1958-59 Jean Bird
1896 Mrs. E.L. Dobbin

* * * * *

1906 Mrs. H.C. Theopold

* * * * *

1916 Mrs. F.F. Kramer
1917 Mrs. Alfred H. Bill
1918 & 1919 Mrs. E.K. Clements
1920 Mrs. George Weston

The 'Old' Guild of the Good Shepherd

1894 & 1895 Mrs. A.E. Haven
1896 Mrs. E. Steele Peake
1897 & 1898 Mrs. A.E. Haven

1959-60 Mrs. K. Chase Batchelder
1960 Mrs. Peter Beck (May-August)
1960-61 Isabella Kiekenapp (September-May)
1961-62 Isabella Kiekenapp
1962-63 Helen Larsen
1963-64 Isabella Kiekenapp
1964-65 Eunice Graham
1965-66 Eunice Graham
1966-67 Elizabeth Sellner
1967-68 Elizabeth Sellner
1968-69 Eunice Graham
1969-70 Kristen Hormel
1970-71 Kristen Hormel
1971-72 Mrs. Roger Nauman
1972 Mrs. Roger Nauman

January-December

1973 Mrs. C.D. Samskar
1974 Mrs. C.D. Samskar
1975 Flora Neumann
1976 Flora Neumann
1977 Pat Folsom
1978 Mrs. Sellner (February-August)
1978-79 Flora Neumann (September-February)
1979-80 Sally Beneke (March-December)
1981 Helen Truax
1982 Wilma Parker & Liz Roehrick, "Co-Chairmen"
1983 Flora Neumann & Liz Roehrick, "Co-Presidents"
1984 Chris Koutavas
1985 Chris Koutavas
1986 Chris Koutavas
1987 Chris Koutavas

WARDENS OF SEABURY DIVINITY SCHOOL
1858-1864 The Rev. James Lloyd Breck, D.D.
1864-1866 The Rev. E.S. Thomas, D.D.
1866-67 The Rev. James Lloyd Breck, D.D.
1867-1871 The Rev. James Dobbin (acting)
1871-1874 The Rev. Thomas Richey, D.D.
1874-1883 The Rev. George L. Chase, D.D.
1883-84 The Rev. J. Steinfort Kedney, D.D. (acting)
1884-1888 The Rev. Francis Hoskins, M.A.
1889-1891 The Rev. Charles H. Wells, Ph.D. (acting)
1891-1895 The Rev. John H. White, D.D.
1895-1904 The Rev. Alford A. Butler, D.D.
1904 The Rev. Charles Camp, A.B.
1905 The Rev. Charles Poole, S.T.D. (acting)
1905-1907 The Rev. George H. Davis, D.D.
1907-1911 The Rev. Frank A. McElwain, S.T.D.
1912-1933 The Rev. F.F. Kramer, Ph.D.

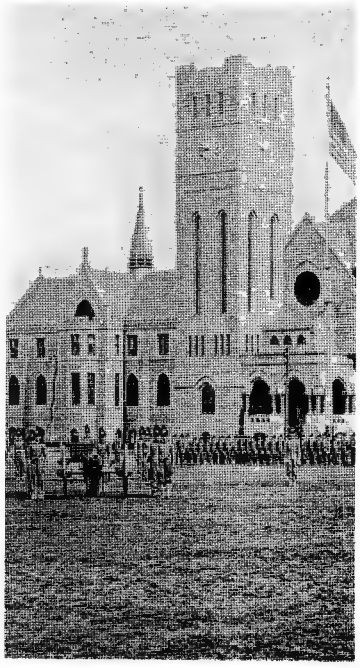
HEADS OF SHATTUCK SCHOOL
-1867 The Rev. James Lloyd Breck, D.D., Rector
1867-1914 The Rev. James Dobbin, D.D., Rector
1914-1915 The Rev. Edward T. Mathison, Rector
1915-1916 Col. Vasa E. Stolbrand, Superintendent*
1916-1936 Charles Watson Newhall, Ph.D., Headmaster*
1936-1940 James S. Guernsey, M.A., Headmaster*
1940-1949 The Rev. Donald Henning, D.D., Rector
(Nuba Pletcher, Ph.D., Acting Headmaster, 1942-1945)
(Addison B. Craig, M.Ed., Acting Headmaster, 1949-1950)
1950-1964 The Rev. Sidney W. Goldsmith, D.D., Rector & Headmaster
(Gerald L. Kieffer, M.A., Acting Headmaster*, 1963-1964)
1964-1969 C. Burgess Ayres, M.A., Headmaster*
(Gerald L. Kieffer, M.A., Acting Headmaster*, 1969)
1970-1972 The Rev. Robert L. Curry, D.D., Rector & Headmaster
*The Bishop served as Rector when a layman was head of the School.

HEADS OF ST. MARY'S HALL
1866-1881 Sarah P. Darlington, Principal
1881 Kate B. Wickersham (February-June)
1881-1883 Emma A. Rice, Principal
1883-1886 Charlotte B. Burchan, Headmistress
1886-1888 Ella F. Brown, Headmistress
1888-1896 Ella F. Lawrence, Headmistress
(Kate I. Cole, Acting Head, 1893-94)
1896-1916 Caroline Wright Eells, A.A., Headmistress
1916-1928 Amy Louise Lowey, Headmistress
1928-1931 Norah E. Matheson, B.A., Headmistress
1931-1938 Katherine Caley, B.A., Headmistress
1938-1947 Margaret Robertson, M.A., Headmistress
1947-1954 Phyllis Newman, M.A., Headmistress
1954-1965 Martha Robbins, M.S., Headmistress
1965-66 Charlotte (Mrs. Frank) Janes, M.A., Acting Headmistress
1966-1972 The Rev. Lloyd C. Gesner, B.A., Rector & Headmaster*
*Until Mr. Gesner's arrival, the Bishop had always been Rector of the Hall.

HEADS OF ST. JAMES SCHOOL
1901-1942 Frederick E. Jenkins, A.B., Headmaster*
1944 The Very Rev. Osborne Littleford, Headmaster
1944-1967 Marvin W. Horstman, B.A., Headmaster
1967-1972 The Rev. Allen F. Bray III, M.A., Rector & Headmaster
*Mr. Dobbin was Rector until 1914; thereafter, the Bishop was Rector until Mr. Bray's arrival.

THE BISHOP WHIPPLE SCHOOLS: SHATTUCK/ST. MARY'S/ST. JAMES
1972 The Rev. Robert L. Curry, D.D., Rector & Headmaster
1972-1974 The Rev. Allen F. Bray III, M.A., Rector & Headmaster
1974-1980 The Rev. E. John Dyer, Ed.D., Rector & Headmaster
(C. Burgess Ayres, M.A., Acting Headmaster, Spring 1980)
1980-1981 Albert Kerr, D.H., Interim Headmaster

SHATTUCK-ST. MARY'S
1981-1986 John R. Hyslop, M.A., Headmaster
1986- Jarek E. Garlinski, M.A., Headmaster



Top: *Shattuck cadets, 1893.*
Below: *St. Mary's seniors at 1969 graduation.*

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The Cathedral at night, from Central Park (Faribault Daily News *photo).*

The First Cathedral

AN EPISCOPAL COMMUNITY FOR MISSION

1987-2003: An Update

by Bob Neslund

Cover: *Nave of the Cathedral, looking west. Native American star quilt above door.*
Above: *"Ghost" of Bishop Whipple–not a photograph but the transferred image of one on the back of another photo.*
Bottom: *Architect's drawing for proposed "cloister" (see p. 17). The idea for a glassed-in "vestibule" inside the west end of the Cathedral, shown above the cloister, was controversial and dropped.*

PREFACE

The First Cathedral: An Episcopal Community for Mission was out-of-print soon after it was published in 1987, not because it was a "best seller" but because we gave away too many copies. Because of many requests, there were conversations at several points about re-printing it with a supplement—but always there was the issue of money.

There are some differences between this and the original, though the "look" is much the same. There are no footnotes, no index. There are few anecdotes–a serious shortcoming, for that was a real strength of the book. Finally, I have written this alone, so this time I bear full responsibility!

If the narrative seems to jump around too much, I apologize: almost nothing is ever neatly self-contained; things overlap.

I am grateful to the Chapter, which was willing to take money from reserves to make this new edition possible. I am grateful to several present and former Cathedral members who provided information, photos, and suggestions. I am grateful to the people at Modern Printers, Faribault, for their patience and expertise. And I am especially grateful to Jason Hill, a former Latin student of mine, who took many of the new photographs and helped with layout.

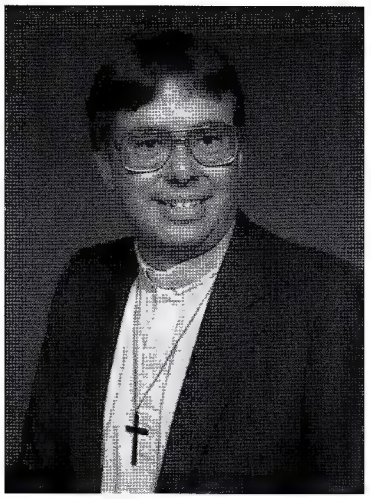
The 1987 book contained a few mistakes. Here are three: p. 100 – "Mrs. Dobbin" should be Mrs. Ella Mae Jenkins *(nee* Gregoire); p. 135–Ph.D., should not follow William Crandall's name; and p. 92–Dr. F.F. Kramer retired in June 1932, not in 1933.

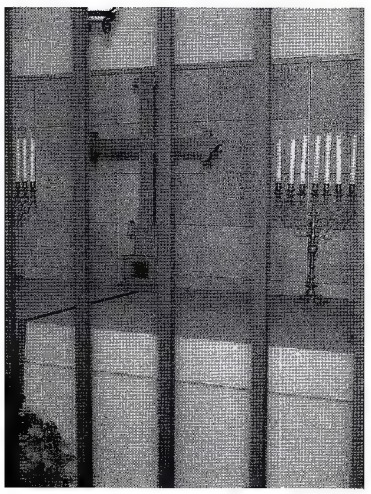
Bob Neslund
Faribault, June 2003

The First Cathedral

AN EPISCOPAL COMMUNITY FOR MISSION

1987-2003: An Update





Top: *The Very Rev. Thomas E. Winkler, Dean, 1979-1991.*
Below: *The Columbarium–niches behind the Bishop's tomb.*

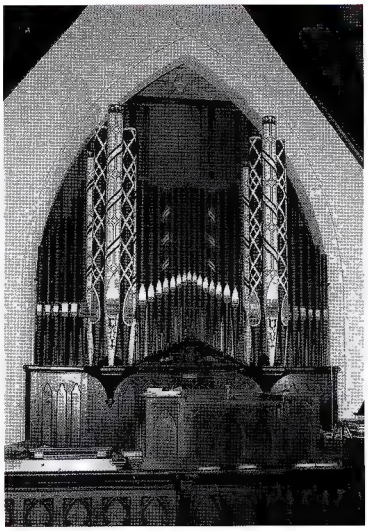
THE END OF THE WINKLER ERA

The 125th Anniversary had been a very busy year. During 1987, under the general leadership of Helen Wafler, 26 separate events had celebrated the Cathedral's beginning. The rest of Dean Winkler's tenure would be relatively quiet. 1988 was a year to relax a bit. The Cathedral offices were air-conditioned—just in time for one of the hottest summers on record. Soon the Dean would be one of three candidates for Suffragan Bishop of Minnesota. After the Rev. Sanford Z.K. Hampton of the Diocese of Washington was elected, the Cathedral welcomed back Tom with balloons and champagne. He would stay in Faribault three more years.

Those were not always easy years. Overall statistics from this period are not encouraging. Membership and attendance were slowly declining. (In 1991–Dean Winkler's last year–there were 293 baptized persons in the Parish; average Sunday attendance was 99.) The financial situation would have been far worse, had not the Warren Trust more than doubled the endowment. "E.G.&I."–endowment, gift and investment–income would very soon be used to subsidize areas other than maintenance and outreach, for which the Chapter had designated it. For example, in 1988 about 35 percent of the diocesan "guideline" was paid from E.G.& I., reflecting the proportion of income from non-pledge sources; the next year the entire sum ($18,872) had to be budgeted from it. Many of the church's most faithful givers were retired and living on fixed incomes.

Despite the financial crunch, several physical improvements were made. In 1988 the first stage of the columbarium was completed with 91 niches behind Bishop Whipple's tomb–space for the ashes of 394. (These were to be only human remains: a suggestion to allow ashes of pets was rejected.) In 1990 a new sound system was installed in the church, half of it paid for by Mrs. Richard Peavey. That same year the Guild of the Good Shepherd spent more than $7000 remodeling the kitchen, and many donors made it possible to rescue the Bill (Resurrection) window in the Guild House from collapse. The restorer called it "one of the finest examples of stained glass in Southern Minnesota." In 1990 and 1991 the Property Committee met with a structural engineer and an architect who specialized in historical preservation. They pronounced the Cathedral edifice basically sound but urged extensive tuck-pointing; two of the chancel buttresses, they said, should also be replaced. Total cost of these improvements they estimated to be $91,700. At that time about the only action the Property Committee could implement was to pull down all the vines.

Limited numbers and finances did not diminish activity in the Parish, however. A few faithful Guild members (with some ad hoc recruits) continued to put on the popular Lenten soup lunches. Though Sunday School enrollment kept



The 1871 Marklove organ, rebuilt by Charles Hendrickson and dedicated in 1987.

dwindling–e.g., in 1988 there were 48 children, age 3 through 6th grade–about a dozen adults, under the leadership of Chris Rodewald, taught or helped in other ways.; six more worked with the junior high (Confirmation) and senior high groups. Volunteers supported numerous outreach efforts like the Faribault Food Shelf and Meals-on-Wheels. Elaine Herron continued to coordinate a ministry to Southeast Asian immigrant families. Communication difficulties with Rwanda were overcome, and the Cathedral's companion relationship with Remera Parish, Butare, continued under the leadership of Helen Truax and Emily Nesvold.

As always during the Winkler era, music flourished. Beginning in the fall of 1988, Virginia Stansell, the new Organist-Choirmaster, built enthusiasm in the senior choir, training it to sing in the "18th Century style." She brought back the children's choir, introduced handbells (given in honor of Don Wafler's ten years in the Diaconate)–and made plans for the ambitious Cathedral Music Series which began as part of the 125th Anniversary. Offering free organ and choral recitals and even Dixieland jazz, it would be unlike anything else in town.

One of the occasions about which Dean Winkler was proudest was the festive Evensong service on May 22, 1991, which Minnesota Public Radio recorded and the British Broadcasting Corporation would air on its worldwide network. The Cathedral choir teamed up with the choir of St. Clement's Church, St. Paul, to perform splendid music of the Anglican choral tradition.

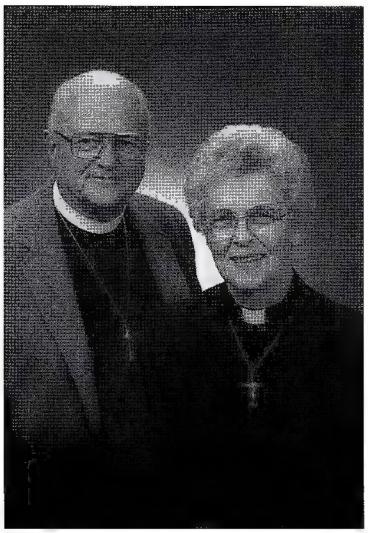
Less than a week later, in the early morning of May 28, lightning struck the Cathedral tower's southeast pinnacle, part of which crashed through the roof of the chancel directly below. Though it weighed nearly a ton and split one of the beams, amazingly the large stone fragment did not fall through the ceiling. Paul Onkka, perhaps the first to see the damage, told the Daily News that the lawn was strewn with shards "like spears." The same day repairmen removed the stone pieces from the roof while Bucky Roosmalen and Rick Klapmeier dislodged fragments that remained atop the tower. Soon the news would be heard around the world, for at the end of the BBC's June 2 broadcast of the Evensong service, the announcer added two sentences about the damage.

In mid-June, Dean Winkler went on sabbatical–and almost immediately upon returning in the fall announced that he would resign, effective October 15, to become Priest-in-Charge of St. Paul's, Winona. He had been at the Cathedral just over twelve years–the longest of any of its deans. (Charles Lewis Slattery. at the turn of the 20th Century, had stayed eleven.)

Much was accomplished during Dean Winkler's tenure. He had been a champion of the Cathedral's history and its potential. He had heightened awareness of the Cathedral in the Diocese and seen the old "Bishop's Church" used at least occasionally for diocesan and regional events. He had established the Easter Vigil, which would bring area Episcopalians together once a year to celebrate the Resurrection with Baptism, Confirmation, and Eucharist. Under his leadership the 1871 organ had been restored and modestly enlarged. A history of the Cathedral had been published. Yet two things disappointed him: he had hoped to inspire a greater degree of lay leadership, and he had wished that more would come to appreciate the rather high church style of worship he had promoted. (He did keep Morning Prayer alive, though, as the first part of the Eucharist two Sundays a month–a tradition since lost.)

Dean Winkler took an active role in Faribault affairs, and he served as president of the Ministerial Association for two terms. An interdenominational service in January 1990 may have been his best tribute. As he reported at the Cathedral's Annual Meeting a year later, "When the community felt the need to gather ... to pray for peace in the Middle East, several of the [local] clergy were in agreement that the service 'naturally' should be at the Cathedral. That makes me feel very proud. It also makes me realize that by opening our doors as often as we do, we are having an impact on the way the community sees us."

The Rev. Thomas E. Winkler remained in Winona for five years, soon took early retirement, and moved to the tiny town of Pickwick, near Winona and his beloved Mississippi River.



The Rev. Paul and the Rev. Marcia Onkka, deacons.

THREE BUSY DEACONS

Often the successes of a church are credited to the minister in charge. Deacons, by the nature of their calling, play a servant role–and thus may get less credit than they deserve. The Rev. Donald S. Wafler, who had been ordained in January 1979, would continue to serve officially at the Cathedral until 1991, when he spent a year going around the Diocese with Bishop Hampton. (The Bishop liked to call him "the gypsy deacon.") Don reached the mandatory retirement age in September 1992. Besides performing innumerable tasks around the church, he spent much of his time going to see the sick and homebound. (In 1990, for example, he logged 90 home, 195 hospital, 136 rest home, and 15 jail visits.) He also served on various diocesan committees and represented the Bishop on the board of the Minnesota Council of Churches. Occasionally he took services in other churches in Faribault. In 1990 Mr. Wafler was named a Canon of the Cathedral, the first Permanent Deacon to be so honored.

On February 14, 1990, Paul and Marcia were also ordained to the Diaconate. The "Decade of Evangelism" was beginning, and one goal of the Cathedral staff in 1991 was "to bring a prayer into every household of the Parish." Paul wasted no time: though he still worked full-time at his pharmacy, before that year's Annual Meeting (February 3rd), he was already one-third done. Marcia's work as a deacon, averaging three days a week, was less obvious because she was assigned to Northfield and Dundas. (Both of these congregations were without a resident priest during much of this period.) Together, Paul and Marcia also taught English to new Vietnamese families in Faribault. His imminent retirement was pushed back when Dean Winkler left. Paul's last official Sunday was June 13, 1994, after which he said he was "goin' fishin'." They lived in St. Peter for several years, but in 2002 the Rev. Paul and the Rev. Marcia Onkka returned to Faribault and the Cathedral.

MENDING THE FABRIC

The lightning strike to the tower in 1991 proved to be a catalyst, leading to some other restoration work as well. But aging buildings are costly to maintain, and funds would have to be raised.

Insurance largely paid for a new pinnacle and repairs to the chancel roof. The pinnacle itself cost $15,912, and the sculptor, Tony Rogac of Abbotsford, B.C., Canada, who spent five months carving it, said that when he bid on the project

Work on the pinnacles, October 7, 1991 (Faribault Daily News).

he underestimated the task: "It should have cost $40,000!" The eight-foot-high monolith weighed 2600 pounds before he started carving it. He worked entirely by himself and had to take a two-week break when, according to his physician, he developed "a painful swollen right forearm because of the constant hammering." Mr. Rogac, who did not often get such elaborate projects, said that the pinnacle should last at least 250 years. The total cost of work on the tower exceeded $58,000. (This wasn't the first time lightning had struck: in 1909–seven years after the tower's completion—a pinnacle had to be replaced, at a cost of $675.)

Two fund-raising campaigns would be launched. At the Parish level, the Restoration and Renewal appeal had a goal of $100,000 to replace principal borrowed from the endowment to fund other repairs to the Cathedral fabric. (By the end of 1993, nearly $160,000 had been spent; besides tuck-pointing the whole exterior, for example, two buttresses on the south side of the chancel had to be replaced.) As part of his contribution to this effort, Eldred Calkins, who had lapidary equipment in his basement, fashioned small crosses from fragments of the pinnacle to be given to participants in the fund drive. By the end of 1993, about $55,000 of the $70,000 pledged had been received.

The Friends of the First Cathedral was to have been a national effort to assure the Cathedral's future. The Rev. Dr. Richard and Helen Byrd put together an ecumenical committee which hoped to raise at least $400,000. Cathedral representatives included Charlie Champlin, Dr. Asa Graham, and Emily Nesvold. The Friends project envisioned the Cathedral as "a center for programs in the arts, music, education, and cooperatively-designed Native American activities." Other possibilities discussed were an enclosed connection between the Cathedral and Guild House with a small museum attached, to house objects, pictures, and documents representative of the history of the Diocese. There was no such central location, and what more natural place to establish one than at the first Cathedral?

To highlight such possibilities, "Roots Weekend" was planned for June 25-27, 1993. Invitations were sent to all churches in the Diocese. There would be tours, story-telling, and a banquet at Shattuck-St. Mary's. At the festive service on Sunday, Dr. Byrd, always a forceful speaker, would preach. Participants from other parishes were asked to bring memorabilia symbolic of their churches' history. Unfortunately, "Roots" did not attract many from outside Faribault. Dr. Byrd's health soon began to deteriorate, and the Friends project was abandoned.

TWO WOMEN INTERIMS

It was during this period that two women served as Interims. Neither was at the Cathedral for very long, but both made a difference. Both were called by their first names, perhaps because Episcopalians don't know what titles are appropriate to women clergy. The first, the Rev. Barbara Dumke, who came from San Francisco, began her ministry on March 1, 1992, and stayed for seven months. She was the Cathedral's first woman priest. A few were uncomfortable with a female minister, but most adjusted easily. She stretched some people's ideas by talking about the motherhood as well as the fatherhood of God. When Barbara arrived, several aspects of the Cathedral's program were "on hold," and her

experience with organizations and planning in the secular world proved helpful. She particularly appealed to the youth and young adults. Connie Roosmalen remarked that Barbara was "very family-oriented and really in touch"; youth were coming to the Guild House on Wednesday nights "because they wanted to." Near the end of her time here, a young families group was organized, with Anne Mullinax-Jones as facilitator. They wanted "upbeat" music and a "child-friendly" service, social events, and more parental involvement in religious education. Very suddenly, Ms. Dumke announced that she was leaving as of October 1st to become Rector of Trinity Church, Anoka.

The Rev. Rosalie Hall began her ministry in Faribault on October 11th and stayed until May 16, 1993. "Rody" won the hearts of many almost immediately. She did not move with her husband Ted to Faribault but often stayed overnight in a modest room at St. Mary's Hall. She spent much of her time calling on the sick and shut-ins. Her sermons often included personal stories, and she broadened the congregation's vision by talking about diversity, inclusiveness, and "the dignity of every human being." She shared resources and ideas from her wealth of experience–"Have you thought about...?" Like Barbara, she was knowledgeable about fund-raising. Both were helpful with Restoration and Renewal and Friends of the First Cathedral.

Detail of the St. Elizabeth window in the Chapel, a memorial to Bishop Whipple's mother, reconstructed in 2003.

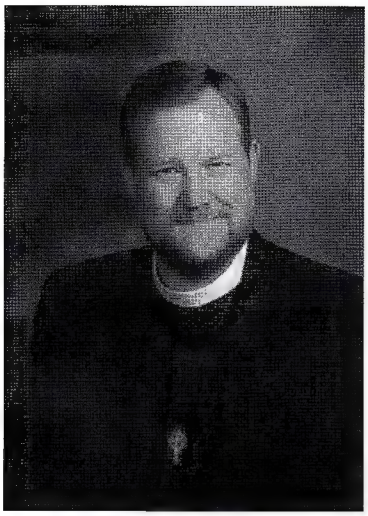
THE SEARCH FOR A NEW DEAN

Probably everyone agreed that the search process took too long. It began on December 15, 1991–two months after Dean Winkler's departure–and concluded on March 28, 1993. It began with one diocesan consultant (Bob Gunkle) and two co-chairs (Dr. Asa Graham and Virginia Stansell); it ended up with another consultant (Jim Huber) and two other co-chairs (Anne Mullinax-Jones and Bob Neslund). It began with a committee of 27 and finished with 12. Instability within the committee may have been a precursor of problems to come.

On the basis of 70 completed questionnaires, the committee wrote a description of the Parish (40 words max.), listed key skills the new Dean should have, and sent these data to the Church Deployment Office in New York City for its computer to analyze. One sticking point in formulating the description was use of the word *conservative:* some felt that this might suggest to some that the Cathedral was opposed to the new Prayer Book and the ordination of women–and so the adjective was dropped. All told, over 60 inquiries and 14 completed applications were received. The three leading candidates came to Faribault on March 26-27, 1993, and the next day the committee made its recommendation to the Chapter. In church on April 11th–Easter Day–Senior Warden Emily Nesvold read the letter of acceptance from the Rev. James Langley Snell of Nevada City, Calif. He and his family would be in residence by mid-July.

THE SNELL YEARS: GROWING PAINS

Before going to seminary, Jim Snell had worked as a special investigator in the California Department of Motor Vehicles. After graduation from Nashotah House in 1989, he had served at the Cathedral in Sacramento and at Trinity Church, Nevada City. He and his wife Patty had two children, Emily and



The Very Rev. James L. Snell, Dean, 1993-1996.

Andrew, who would attend Shattuck-St. Mary's. His interests ranged from playing the bagpipe to weaving and computers. In May 1993 Dean-elect Snell had written, "...we are called to be witnesses to the power of Jesus to change lives.... We have a tremendous opportunity to move forward if we pay attention to the call of God and the work of the Holy Spirit...."

In his first Annual Meeting report, after only half a year in Faribault, he noted that the Cathedral was a very busy place but that he had been invited into only a few homes. He hoped that would change; he wanted to know his people better.

In many ways 1994 was a banner year. Attendance was up considerably-by October averaging 140, about 40 percent higher than when he had arrived. Though several old members left, new ones were being added, some young families were showing interest–and with a $10,000 increase in giving, for the first time in several years there was not only a balanced budget but also a modest surplus. There had even been the fun of a mass squirtgun fight at the Sunday School picnic. Yet early in the year there had been a decision which alienated some parishioners and would hurt the Cathedral's image in the community–the reorganization of Horstman Memorial Nursery School. Originally known as the Cathedral Nursery School, Horstman had been sponsored by the Parish since opening in 1966. Enrollment was full–96 children, ages 3 to 5–but teacher salaries were low. The School's Board decided to eliminate the Director position and designate one teacher "Head Teacher" in a more collaborative structure. Gloria Raesly, who had been with Horstman for 24 of its 28 years and Director since 1979, felt that she was unfairly pushed out. Many of her friends agreed.

1995 was even busier. Repairs were made in the Guild House. The Cathedral hosted an ecumenical Vacation Bible School, sponsored a float in the Heritage Days parade, started a new prayer group and healing ministry. With the Dean's encouragement, a few parishioners became involved with Promise Keepers, a national evangelical organization for men. Pledge "units" (families and individuals) rose to 86–nine more than two years before. For some this was a time of real spiritual renewal, but again there was controversy. A protracted series of disagreements with Organist-Choirmaster Virginia Stansell ended with her being fired in early March. Several of her friends, especially members of the choir, sided with Virginia, believing that she had been badly treated. To one member of this group Senior Warden Charlie Champlin wrote, "It was the Chapter's feeling that we could no longer go on with a situation that wasn't getting any better and was pulling our Cathedral apart. We saw it as a choice between the Dean and the Organist, and the Chapter is not ready to give up on our Dean."

In his report to the 1996 Annual Meeting, Dean Snell tried to reach out to those who were unhappy but also focused on the Church's mission: "We are here to make disciples.... Let us work together to accomplish what Jesus has set before us to do."

The Dean would stay eleven months more. If his report of one month's activity, given to the Chapter at his request, is at all typical, he worked very hard: "230 phone calls, 8 tours (120 people), 9 business contacts, 75 contacts with parishioners, services at rest homes and the prison, work with the Downtown Development Association. Had one day off in 34 for the month." But on

November 24, 1996, he tendered his resignation. He wrote to Senior Warden Tom Truax, "I have prayed very hard about this change and have asked God to open and close doors. I believe God has made it clear He has other plans for my ministry." (Dean Snell had, in fact, been offered a position in California.)

The Dean's final meeting with the Chapter was on December 9th. He opened with a Bible study entitled "Listening to God." Routine arrangements for the immediate future were discussed. After he left the meeting, the Chapter voted to ask the Bishop to make him a Canon of the Cathedral.

December 15th was the Dean's last Sunday. Bishop Jelinek was present, conferred the title of Canon on Fr. Snell, and informed the congregation that after an interim period a Provost would be appointed to serve until such time as internal conflicts had been resolved and the Cathedral was ready to call a new Dean. The search process would begin in April 2000 and take 15 months.

The Rev. James Snell and his family moved to Fresno, Calif., where he became Rector of St. Columba's, now (in 2003) the largest parish in the Diocese of San Joaquin. He is President of the diocesan Standing Committee, Dean of the Fresno Deanery, and a Deputy to the 2003 General Convention in Minneapolis. St. Columba's has just finished a $2.5 million building project.

"INTERIM ED"

The Rev. Edwin J. Eilertsen, one of the senior clergy of the Diocese and long-time Rector of St. Martin's by-the-Lake, Minnetonka Beach, served as Interim Minister for the first half of 1997, coming to Faribault four days per week. (He was known to answer the office phone as early as 8 a.m.) Immediately he set to work, recruiting and training six members of the Parish to serve as facilitators in "fellowship groups" which would meet once a week for a month. The purpose was to bring problems out into the open within the group, honestly express feelings, and talk about possible solutions. It became clear that some conflicts were not recent but had been smoldering for at least 30 years. Mr. Eilertsen emphasized the difference between dialogue and debate. In talking about forgiveness, he liked to quote a line from a hymn he had learned in childhood– "the sea of God's forgetfulness." He had bookmarks printed, featuring the words of an old prayer mounted on the inside north door of the Cathedral. (See margin.) Don and Helen Wafler had come across it in a Welsh church years ago and brought back a copy.

For half a year "Interim Ed" and his wife Judy shared the Cathedral's life. He visited in many homes and even participated one Saturday in a clean-up day. When he left the Cathedral he retired for the fourth time, but was soon supplying at Christ Church, Woodbury, and later at Trinity Church, Litchfield.

A PROVOST AND ASSOCIATE

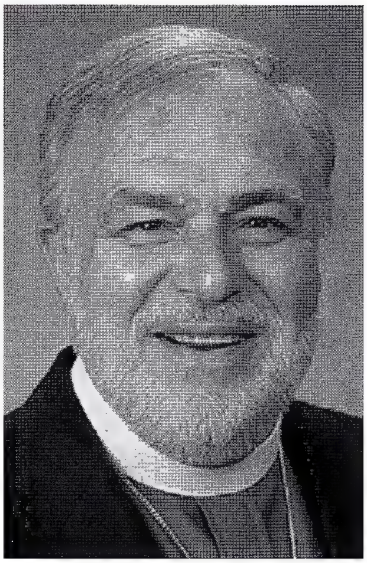
The word *provost* was probably unfamiliar to most in the Cathedral when Bishop Jelinek announced on December 15, 1996 that he would be appointing one. The difference between the dean of a cathedral and a provost is that the dean works in partnership with the chapter, much as the rector of a parish works with its vestry; the provost of a cathedral, however, is appointed by and directly

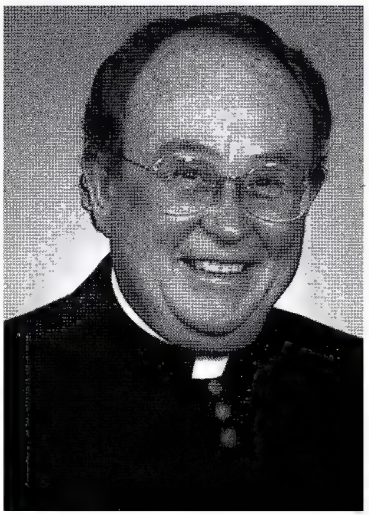
O God make the door of this house wide enough to receive all those who need human love and a Heavenly Father's care and narrow enough to shut out all pride and hate and its threshold smooth enough to be no stumbling block to children or to straying feet but rugged enough to turn back the tempter's power.

Make it the gateway of the Eternal Kingdom through Jesus Christ.

from the Parish church Llangollen, Wales

The bookmark the Rev. Ed Eilertsen had printed.





Top: *The Rt. Rev. James L. Jelinek, VIII Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Minnesota.*
Below: *The Ven. Benjamin I. Scott, Provost, 1997-2001.*

responsible to the bishop. In effect, Bishop Jelinek, through his representative, was taking over spiritual direction of the Cathedral until it could work through its problems.

If the title was unfamiliar, the man appointed was not. Ben Scott had written the Cathedral's book with Bob Neslund in 1986 and '87 and had interviewed numerous members of the congregation. As Archdeacon for Southern Minnesota–the Bishop's personal deputy–he had evaluated the Cathedral in 1990. Through their friendship with Dean Winkler, Ben and his wife Sally had visited the Cathedral often. And as he said in one of his later annual reports, he had had a "love affair" with the Cathedral ever since seminary days, when he first learned of Dr. Breck's "associate mission" experiment in Faribault. He would work half-time at the Cathedral–he was still Archdeacon of Southern Minnesota (hence the title "Venerable"). He would try to put something of Breck's theory into practice in a shared ministry with a half-time Associate, the Rev. Carolyn Schmidt of Holy Cross, Dundas. She was also well known to a few members of the Cathedral who had participated in the E.F.M. (Education for Mission) course she had mentored in the Guild House several years earlier. He would still live at Rock Dell, near Rochester, and she in Montgomery. (Later, when Carolyn had to resign for health reasons, the same basic arrangement would continue with the Rev. Jim Young of Church of the Redeemer, Cannon Falls.)

The beginning was inauspicious. His first Sunday, July 6, 1997, was hot , and the new Provost was very ill. On June 26th he had suffered a heart attack, and on July 1st had been discharged from Mayo. "I stood at the west door in the heavy vestments and looked down the long aisle with its stairs. I had not walked that far unassisted since the attack." Deacon Audrey Knutson preached that day, and Ben managed to get through the service. In the first months, Carolyn and Audrey would handle much of the day-to-day work, assisted by the new Lay Pastoral Care Team.

PREPARING FOR MISSION

To Provost Scott there was a stark contrast between the Cathedral's heritage and what he saw as its present reality. In his first Annual Report in February 1998, he said: "We are a community of Episcopalians whose forebears have left us enormous gifts in trust. We have been given two splendid buildings for mission. We have been given over $2 million to support and enrich our work. We have human resources and a membership beyond the scope of Episcopalians in most Minnesota cities the population of Faribault....Yet in the pews and meeting rooms and around the coffee pots and car doors I have heard members who are whining and complaining. How much we have tended to behave like the spoiled children of the rich!" He saw declining attendance, physical deterioration in the Cathedral and Guild House, decreasing financial support when measured against inflation, dependence on endowment, "dwelling on the past," and "a few members [who] have not been able to learn appropriate channels for voicing complaints."

His plan would have three stages: defining the Cathedral's mission (1998), increasing stewardship (1999), and working on growth (2000).

The first great task was writing a Mission Statement. It began with a retreat, gradually evolved over several months, and was accepted by the congregation on January 24, 1999, at the Annual Meeting.

The mission of the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour is to proclaim the Good News of Jesus Christ and to reach out in His Name as a loving Christian community which is seeking to grow in faith, commitment, and worship.

Attached to the statement were four goals:

<u>Community:</u> To help members know one another better, to welcome and incorporate new-comers , and to evaluate the progress annually

<u>Growth:</u> To promote individual and congregational growth in faith, cooperation, and commitment

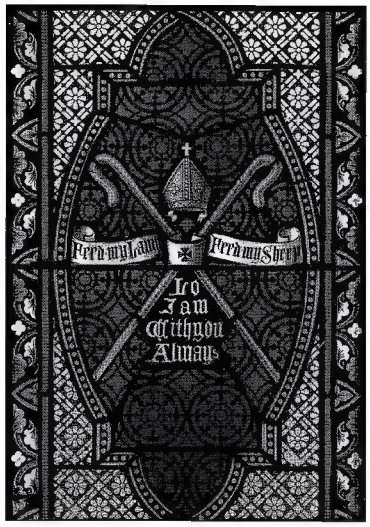
<u>Worship:</u> To be a house of prayer for all people

<u>Cathedral:</u> To be a Cathedral in Faribault.

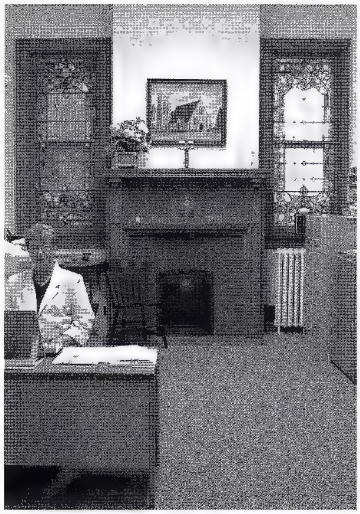
Under each of the goals were included specific targets. For example, under "Growth" were increasing financial giving 5% annually and restricting endowment income to 1) upkeep and improvement of the buildings and 2) outreach/evangelism. Under "Worship" was setting a time-table for accessibility. The Mission Statement would be printed at the top of each month's Chapter agenda, recited at meetings, and included in each issue of the *Chimes*. Organist-Choirmaster Stephen May would even set it to Anglican chant so that it could be sung in church!

The second stage–stewardship–would be more difficult. In November of 1999, for the first time in several years, an Every-Member Canvass was conducted, resulting in 12 more pledges and a monetary increase over the previous year of more than 10 percent–a significant improvement but still far less than would be needed in the future. "Time and Talent" pledges were turned in by 76 members. That year nearly $40,000 was spent on the Cathedral building–tuck-pointing and the first phase of reshingling the roof. The congregation was reaching out more into the community, as well. Besides contributing items to the Food Shelf, half of its rent that year was paid by the Cathedral. Seventeen helped build the Habitat house on Central Avenue. Horstman Nursery School was serving 68 families, and the Board was looking at ways to make the program more culturally diverse.

The third stage–growth–proved most difficult. The theme of the 2000 Annual Meeting was "Opening the Gates at the Millennium." In his report the Provost said, "A declining membership indicates a gate that has been closed to attracting new members. A congregation that lacks diversity in gender, race, age, and social/economic standing is a congregation that has closed its doors to the diversity within the community." (Faribault's population indeed had changed a bit, but no Southeast Asians, Somalis, or Hispanics were in evidence at the Cathedral.) "A congregation that worships on Sunday as it did a generation ago will have closed its gate to those who are not of that generation." The Cathedral was trying to reach out with a twice-monthly radio broadcast, advertising in the newspaper, and a website, but membership and attendance remained static. Partly in response to this challenge, on November 4th the Cathedral sponsored an all-day workshop with the Rev. Dr. George Martin of the Church Ad Project



Top: *Nave window representing Episcopacy–the office of bishops —given by St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, where Henry Benjamin Whipple was elected first Bishop of Minnesota in 1859.*
Below: *Window in Gilbert Hall;* Veritas et Vita *is Latin for "the Truth and the Life."*



and invited area parishes to participate. His title was "Evangelism: An Episcopal Perspective–Because God Wants Us to Grow!" His particular focus was how to reach out to "Generation X."

THREE "MISSION PROJECTS"

The first project was to move the Cathedral's stone altar from the east wall. It was not original to the church or even added during Bishop Whipple's lifetime; placed as a memorial to him long after his death, it was part of the "rebirth" of the Cathedral in 1934. For the last several years a smaller wooden altar had been used, placed in front of the stone altar so that the celebrant, following the new (actually ancient) liturgical style, might face the people—but this arrangement was cramped and hid the carving of the Last Supper, which some people liked to look at while kneeling at the communion rail. (One member of the congregation suggested a creative solution: make a free-standing altar out of glass so we can see through it!) In 1999, moving the stone altar three feet out from the wall cost nearly $11,000–and fortunately cost no one his or her life. In the dismantling process, the metal scaffolding failed and parts of the altar were broken. Twin City Tile and Marble replaced the top and so skillfully restored other damage that hardly a crack is visible.

The second and third projects were concerned with wheelchair accessibility. To make room in the Cathedral, the offices were moved to the Guild House and the old space was remodeled, providing not only an accessible lavatory but also a small " hospitality room" with wet bar, useful for committee meetings and the Sunday Forum. The main floor of the Guild House, several feet higher than that of the Cathedral, required either a ramp or a lift. It was decided to fit an elevator into the unused entrance to Gilbert Hall from 1st Avenue. (Archie Babcock "initiated" the new lift on May 27, 2001.) The existing lavatory was enlarged, making it accessible. The cost of these two projects was about $97,000.

Top: *The Parish office in the Guild House; Carol Peterson, Cathedral secretary and bookkeeper, is shown at the left.*
Bottom left: *The Hospitality Room in the Cathedral; behind the new wall are an accessible lavatory and (at right) a wet bar.*
Bottom right: *The Cathedral altar, a memorial to Bishop Whipple, moved out from the east wall.*

ANOTHER SEARCH

On January 4, 2000, Bishop Jelinek met with Provost Scott and the Wardens and Chapter to give his consent to beginning the search for a new Dean. Chris Koutavas and Candy Greeley would serve as co-chairs, and the Rev Henry Hoover would act as consultant. Together the committee developed the following description for the Church Deployment Office: "The Cathedral is an aging congregation that needs rejuvenation and renewal. We are willing to experiment with new ways of worship and ministry so we can grow by attracting a broad spectrum of our changing community." Four specific goals were listed: growth in membership, worship with broad appeal, education for all ages, and enhanced pastoral care. And there were two additional requirements: ability to speak Spanish (or willingness to learn) and experience in capital fund-raising. The committee would meet most Tuesday nights for 15 months–almost as long as the previous search. The computer in New York furnished 39 possible candidates, and there were several nominations from the congregation and outside. On July 23, 2001, Senior Warden Jan Batchelder announced that the Rev. James Cly Zotalis of Fergus Falls, Minn., had been elected by the Chapter to be the new Dean. He and his wife Paula would arrive by September 1st.

MEANWHILE...

Although some would have preferred having one full-time resident priest instead, the Provost-and-Associate model worked well because the talents and ministry styles of those involved were complementary.

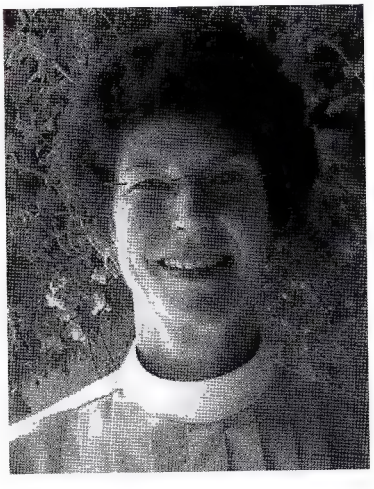
The Ven. Ben Scott served as Provost part-time from July 1997 into May 2001, when he retired. Besides directing the Cathedral's recovery and discovery of its mission, he presided at services and preached two or three Sundays each month and supervised all aspects of the ministry on the Parish.

The Rev. Carolyn Schmidt (part-time, July 1997 through 1998) worked with youth, helped to develop the Lay Pastoral Care Team, led a Bible study group on Mondays, and connected with a variety of social welfare groups in town. She preached twice per month. In 2003 she was still Rector of Holy Cross, Dundas, and was living in Montgomery.

The Rev. Jim Young (part-time, 1999-August 2001) worked with the short-lived Area 35 Youth Ministry (parishes south of the Twin Cities along the I-35 "corridor") and produced the bi-weekly Cathedral radio broadcast for KDHL. (The radio ministry continued until the end of 2002.) He also served with the Pastoral Care Team. This group, he said, "demonstrates on an almost daily basis ... that the first ministers of the Church are its laity." He preached once per month. (When there was a fifth Sunday, lay readers conducted Morning Prayer and read prefabricated sermons.) After the retirement of Provost Scott, Fr. Young served as Priest-in-Charge for the summer of 2001, then became Rector of Christ Church, Albert Lea, Minn.

Not a member of the Cathedral staff but very active in the Parish and the community was the Rev. Henry Doyle, Chaplain at Shattuck-St. Mary's School since 1989. A frequent celebrant and preacher at the Cathedral who can read the service in record time, he has especially been the impetus behind annually increasing Food Shelf contributions–from 2780 items and "well over" $500 in 2000 to 21,041 items and $1060 in 2002.

Icon of Enmegahbowh which hangs in the Choir, painted in 1996 by the Rev. Johnson Loud, Native American priest at Prairie Island, Minn. Also known as John Johnson, Enmegahbowh, a native of Ontario, was the first Indian priest in the Episcopal Church; he was ordained by Bishop Whipple in 1867. His name means "he who stands before his people." The peace pipe represents Native American spirituality and the flame, his zeal for the Gospel. The halo, with areas of white, red, yellow and black, derives from the medicine wheel of the Dakota people. He died in 1902 and is commemorated on June 12th.



Top: *The Rev. Bonnie Holt, deacon.* Below: *The Rev. Jill Tollefson, deacon.* Next page: *Ben and Sally Scott.* Below: *Bust of Bishop Whipple, carved for 2001 by Ivan Whillock and now in the Cathedral.*

The deacons during this period all lived some distance from Faribault. Permanent deacons are not paid, though they are given a mileage allowance.

The Rev. Audrey Knutson, of Waterville, had begun working as a deacon at the Cathedral in 1995 and continued through 1998, when she retired. Besides conducting services and visiting in rest homes, she was especially involved in ministry at the Faribault Correctional Facility. In 1997 she collected 1250 books for the prison library and the chaplain's office.

The Rev. Bob Gunkle, of Hastings, served as deacon from 1998 to 2001. At the Cathedral his duties were mainly liturgical. He also led ecumenical services at the Dakota County Jail and worked with Habitat for Humanity on building projects in Faribault and Northfield.

The Rev. Bonnie Holt, of Cannon Falls, came to the Cathedral as a deacon in November 1999. Besides her visitation ministry, she has worked with the Diversity Coalition of the Chamber of Commerce. An avid biker, she participates annually, along with Carol McKitrick, in TRAM–"The Ride Across Minnesota"–to raise funds for Multiple Sclerosis research.

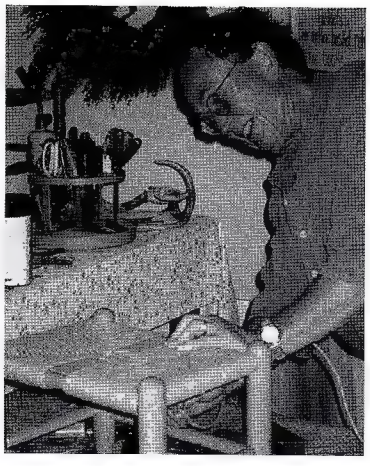
The Rev. Jill Tollefson, of Northfield, came to the Cathedral as a deacon in 2001. Passionate about Hispanic outreach, she has been active for several years in the late-summer Seasonal Workers' Ministry at the Seneca-Green Giant food-processing plant in Montgomery. (Various Region V parishes provide meals on Sunday afternoons while the "pack" is going on, and there is a celebration of the Eucharist in Spanish.) Jill attended the National Church's Migrant Ministry Committee conference in 2002. She is a spiritual director and leads "centering prayer" meetings at Carleton College. She is trying to become fluent in Spanish.

The work of the clergy was, as always, only part of the story. The Wardens and Chapter met monthly, often until late into the night. Committees–Worship, Pastoral Care, Finance, Outreach/Evangelism, Hospitality, Christian Education, Buildings and Grounds, Stewardship, Personnel–involved many members. The Search Committee put in countless hours. Sunday School teachers and youth leaders persevered, despite sometimes discouragingly small numbers . The Altar Guild worked faithfully, week in and week out. The Guild of the Good Shepherd met one Saturday morning each month to work on a variety of projects. (There were no more Lenten soup lunches, but several women worked on making needlepoint cushions for the Cathedral. Each cushion has about 100,654 stitches, representing 420 hours of work (6 months at 2.3 hours per day.) Horstman School continued, though with gradually smaller enrollments. (Several similar programs were opening around town.) Music under the direction of Stephen May, Organist-Choirmaster since September 1997, represented a wider spectrum, stretching both the choir and the congregation. He also started a Choristers program–at first, to quote the *Daily News*, "a choir of one" but by 2003 a choir of eight, most of whose members were not from Cathedral families.

BEN AND SALLY

The description of Provost Scott's role at the Cathedral for nearly four years may sound formal and bureaucratic, but the truth is that he did his work with good humor and optimism and was generally loved by the congregation. His greatest asset was (and is) his wife Sally, who, though their home is fifty miles away, was as active in the life of the Parish year-round as if they lived next door–

singing in the choir, working on Guild projects, helping with Sunday School and Wednesday night programs. When Ben retired in May 2001, there was an afternoon farewell party, attended by many of their friends from the Cathedral and around the Diocese. As a token of the Cathedral's appreciation, they were given a replica of the bust of Bishop Whipple which Faribault sculptor Ivan Whillock had carved for 2001, part of his annual "Faces of Historic Faribault" series. They continue to live on the family farm at Rock Dell. Ben still takes occasional services and, as a hobby, canes chairs.



SEPTEMBER 16th, 2001

The horrific events of September 11th threw a pall over the observance, only five days later, of the centenary of Bishop Whipple's death—but there was a splendid celebration nonetheless. Bishop Jelinek, who preached, said that he had never seen the Cathedral so full. Unfortunately, not all the descendants of the Bishop who had planned to come to Faribault were able to attend, but quite a few did. The service was the culmination of a "Whipple Year" proclaimed by the Bishop. A Whipple calendar had been produced and a Whipple "throw" was designed. The new Dean, who had arrived only two weeks earlier, had little to worry about: Ben Scott had been working on the details much of the summer.

Especially poignant was the Offertory anthem, *My Ain Countrie*, sung at Bishop Whipple's funeral in 1901 and now heard again after having been lost for many years:

I am far frae my hame, an' I'm weary aftenwhiles,
For the langed-for hame-bringin' an' my Faither's welcome smiles.
An' I'll ne'er be fu' content, until mine een do see
The gowden gates o' heaven an' my ain countrie....

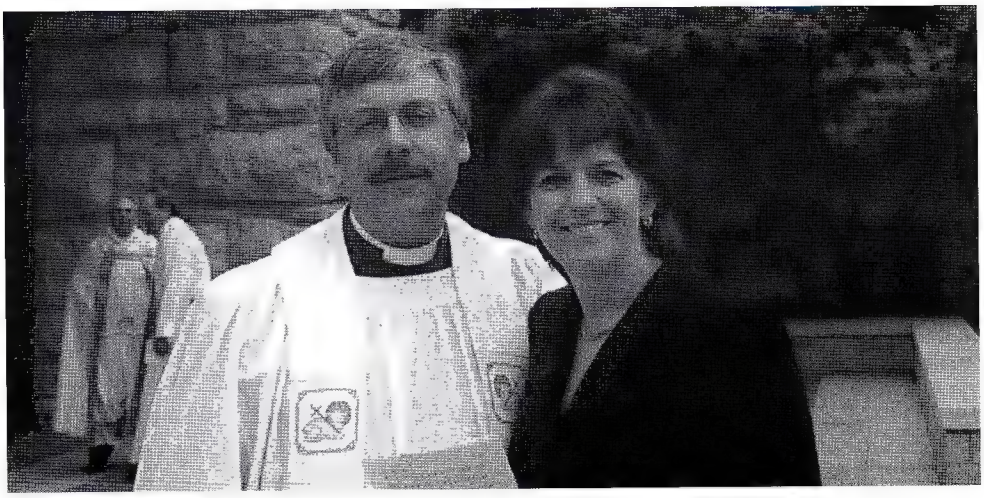
Stephen May spent many hours trying to find the music after a former Cathedral choir member from forty years ago, Betty Dusbabek, sang to him parts which she remembered. After finally locating it in a six-volume collection of Gospel songs published in the 1880s, he arranged it for the choir.

Several replicas of the Whipple bust were given that day–to the Bishop and to Native American missions of the Diocese. The Cathedral had also purchased the original carving and now placed it in a niche near the pulpit. On a small plaque are these words:

On the centennial of the death of Bishop Whipple,
this carved image of the First Bishop of Minnesota
was placed here by the Congregation to honor the ministries of
the Ven. Benjamin Ives Scott and Sally Welch Scott,
Canons of this Cathedral, September 16, 2001.

THE NEW DEAN

In his first Annual Report, the Very Rev. James Zotalis recalled a conversation in Fergus Falls, where he was Rector for 12 years, when Bishop Jelinek took him and his wife Paula out to dinner. "I told him that God was calling me to the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour and [asked] if I could have his blessing to apply for the position. I know the Bishop thought I was crazy, but he listened and was patient with me...." Dean Zotalis was not unknown to the Parish: his family was active in the congregation while he was Chaplain at Shattuck-St. Mary's



Left: *1974 drawing by Jim Zotalis representing Jesus on the cross, using a Renaissance vegetable technique.* Right: *The Very Rev. James C. Zotalis, Dean of the Cathedral, and his wife Paula.*

between 1987 and 1989, where he also taught art and coached tennis. Jim grew up in Mankato, where his Greek parents had him christened in the Episcopal Church. He graduated from Mankato State University, where he met his wife through the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, and eventually went to seminary at Nashotah House, from which he graduated in 1987. He was ordained priest at the Cathedral the same year. He is a fan of all things Greek! He also loves the American Pastime and has a room full of baseball memorabilia. He coaches tennis at Shattuck-St. Mary's and is active in several service clubs, the Ministerial Association, and the Faribault Art Center. Paula teaches in the Faribault public school system and is well known to many in the Parish for her Greek cooking. The Zotalises have four grown children: Anna, Peter, Rachel, and Nicola. Alexander, the family Schnauzer, has appeared in a couple of the Dean's sermons.

A NEW VISION

A five-year plan for 2002-2007 was adopted by the Chapter on April 8, 2002.

Goal I–Community: 1. Complete building projects; 2. Take care of who we are; 3. More social events.

Goal II–Growth: 1. Good stewardship awareness all year long; 2. Training lay people in discipleship; 3. A strong Sunday School; 4. A strong youth group; 5. More effective communication within the Parish; 6. Arrange transportation to church events; 7. Continuing education for clergy and lay people.

Goal III–Worship: 1. Enrich the music program; 2. Larger menu of services; 3. Services user-friendly for visitors; 4. Increase active participation.

Goal IV–Cathedral: 1. Create a fine arts series for the community; 2. Encourage the community to hold ecumenical services at the Cathedral; 3. Form a relationship with St. Mark's Cathedral; 4. Encourage community participation in Regions IV and V; 5. Maintain our Episcopate relationship.

Goal V–Evangelism and Outreach: 1. Provide an Alpha program once a year; 2. Welcome all peoples and cultures; 3. Create a preaching mission; 4. Continue outreach programs; 5. Make available our unused facilities for the benefit of the community; 6. Connect with Shattuck-St. Mary's School.

ALPHA

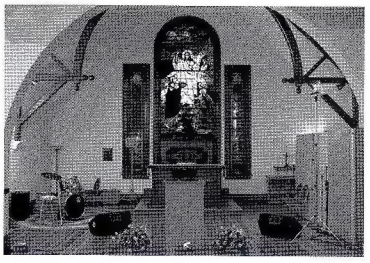
The Cathedral had gone through the two complete Alpha courses by May 2003. Alpha is a 15-session introduction to the basics of the Christian religion. (Three of the sessions comprise a "Spirit Weekend," which at the Cathedral has taken the form of a Saturday retreat.) Each Wednesday night the Alpha program begins with a simple meal followed by a few minutes of singing; one of the Alpha videotapes is shown and a brief small-group discussion follows. The tapes feature the Rev. Nicky Gumbel, an Anglican clergyman with a lively and witty style. (Alpha claims that there have been 10,000 of its courses worldwide and over 1000 in the U.S.) The first Alpha course at the Cathedral was offered beginning in January 2002 with about 40 participants; attendance at the second course, in 2003, was smaller and there were many repeaters. Eventually it was hoped that Alpha participants, having become more confident in their faith, would invite friends to join them, and that thus the Cathedral might grow.

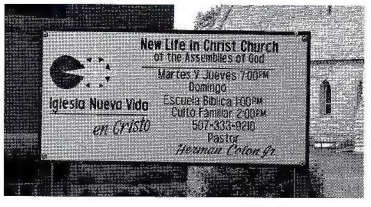
NEW USES FOR THE GUILD HOUSE

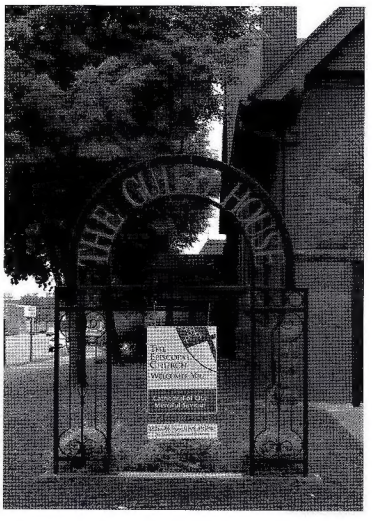
In 2003 there were two outside groups using Guild House facilities. With the closing of the Horstman Memorial Nursery School in 2002, the basement became available, and the Chapter leased most of it to Y.E.S. (Youth Enrichment Services), an organization which seeks to bring together a number of community services–for example, Big Brothers/Big Sisters–to benefit youth in need of help. In the same year, the Chapter, after consultation with the Guild of the Good Shepherd, agreed to lease much of the main floor of the Guild House— Great Hall, Gilbert Hall, and kitchen–to Iglesia Nueva Vida en Cristo ("New Life in Christ Church," an Hispanic Assemblies of God congregation). The Cathedral and Iglesia shared a pre-Christmas service and party and a Maundy Thursday Passover supper and Communion service. (Some compromises were necessary: grape juice and small glasses rather than wine and the common cup were used, but so was a full consecration prayer (in English) from the Prayer Book.) Many members of the Cathedral found this service to be profoundly moving. It may not have been what the Bishop had in mind for Hispanic ministry–and some resented the limited availability of the Guild House's facilities for Parish activities–but the Cathedral was supporting outreach to an ethnic group which it probably could not yet directly attract or serve.

THE 'CLOISTER' IDEA

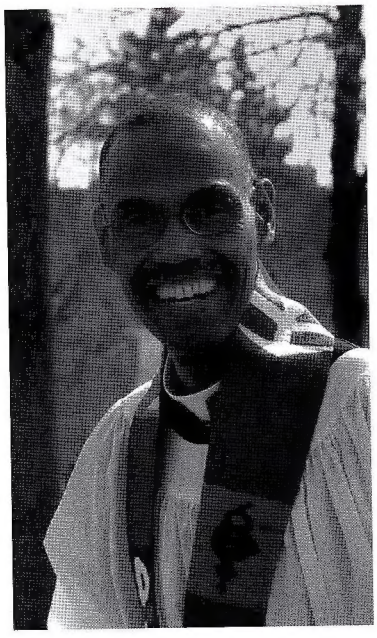
In 2002 and the early part of 2003 there was much discussion of an old idea: building a link between the Cathedral and the Guild House. Dean Zotalis felt that it was important for the community to see some tangible evidence that the Cathedral was indeed moving forward. He drew sketches of a possible enclosed "cloister" and a local architect refined these, estimating that such a structure would cost about $463,000. The drawings were shown to Historical Architect Charles Nelson, who said that they would be compatible with National Register of Historic Places criteria. He suggested that such a connection include a "gathering space." A later idea was that an affordable senior housing facility could be built immediately behind the proposed link. Yet some wondered whether the Cathedral could afford to operate even two buildings. At midsummer 2003 the cloister project was "on hold." Three major improvements were made during this time, however: the south roof of the Cathedral was reshingled, and all the stained glass windows of the Cathedral and Guild House

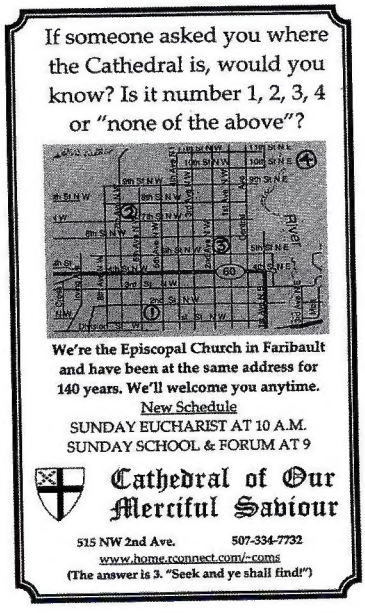






Top: *Guild House Great Hall set up for Hispanic services. (Note drum set at left.)*
Middle: *Iglesia's sign in front of the Guild House.*
Bottom: *Wrought iron Guild House sign, a memorial to Phyllis Hanson crafted by her son. To dispel any confusion, "The Episcopal Church Welcomes You" sign is attached.*




If someone asked you where the Cathedral is, would you know? Is it number 1, 2, 3, 4 or "none of the above"?
We're the Episcopal Church in Faribault and have been at the same address for 140 years. We'll welcome you anytime.
New Schedule
SUNDAY EUCHARIST AT 10 A.M.
SUNDAY SCHOOL & FORUM AT 9
Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour
515 NW 2nd Ave. 507-334-7732
www.home.rconnect.com/~coms
(The answer is 3. "Seek and ye shall find!")

Top: *The Rev. Henry L. Doyle, Chaplain of Shattuck-St. Mary's School and chief cheerleader for the Cathedral's Food Shelf effort.* Below: *Ad which appeared in the Faribault* Daily News. *The bottom line read, "The answer is 3. 'Seek and ye shall find!'"*

were covered with clear glass, replacing the plastic which had yellowed and become cloudy. At this time the St. Elizabeth window in the Chapel, which had begun to bow and crack, was reconstructed. The Cathedral's antiquated boiler was also replaced.

IDENTITY

Questions of identity still remained in 2003. A new Constitution, adopted May 2, 1993, still referred to the Cathedral as "a perpetual memorial and shrine to Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple" but also described it as "a *pro*-Cathedral Church of the diocese of Minnesota."(The italics are not in the original.) During Provost Scott's time, a document to replace the 1993 revision was being worked on but never finished. Besides legal considerations, there were perennial questions about what the Cathedral's place could or should be in the Diocese as a whole, specifically in Southern Minnesota, and in the local community. (St. Mark's, Minneapolis, was wrestling with some of the same issues and had formed a committee to examine "the role of the Cathedral in the Diocese.")

The relationship with Shattuck-St. Mary's, going back to the earliest days of the Parish and Cathedral, continued–but could it be strengthened? In the previous decade the School had changed considerably. Enrollment had grown to nearly 300. Longtime Headmaster Greg Kieffer was succeeded in 2001 by Interim Dennis C. Brown, who was replaced by Head of School Nicholas J.B. Stoneman in the summer of 2003. The School could boast of national hockey championships, over fifty international students, and extensive offerings in the arts. A school-wide service program had been in place for several years. In 2002-03 every student and teacher was using a laptop computer. And the same year a new Mission Statement went into effect: "As a school community, Shattuck-St. Mary's guides young people to be strong in character, mind, body, and spirit for a life of learning and service." Chaplain Henry Doyle was surely the strongest link between the two institutions. The School and congregation still shared Founders Day with a service at the Cathedral and brunch in Morgan Refectory. In 2002 when Faribault commemorated the first anniversary of the September 11th attack, S-SM students first went to the Cathedral for a short service before joining the community observance in the park. S-SM choral, instrumental, and dance ensembles performed several times each year, the most ambitious example being Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker* (with organ accompaniment) in December 2002. In 2003 when two senior boys wanted to raise money to aid a clinic in India, the concert was in the Cathedral. (Over $5000 was contributed.)

There were also questions of the Cathedral's identity in Faribault. When Bob Neslund went to place an ad in the *Daily News* and said it was for the Cathedral, the lady, who was new at her job, asked, "Is that a church or a theater?" (Bob replied, "Sometimes, I'm afraid, it's a bit of both.") When the Hispanic church attached its large sign to the Guild House sign, some in town wondered whether the Guild House had been sold–so the Iglesia sign was moved. On the other hand, the Cathedral was opening itself up more to the community. One example was the revived Music Series, which in 2002-03 offered an eclectic array of concerts, including an organ recital of "novelty pieces" (with ice cream social) during Faribault's 150th birthday Heritage Days celebration. Those who attended could see that something was happening at the Cathedral, for Bucky Roosmalen was installing new carpet in the aisles, purplish in tone to coordinate with the

new pew cushions given in Charlotte Conklin's memory by her three daughters. Outside, though, some work would still need to be done in the flower beds before visitors from the General Convention in Minneapolis came to tour "the First Cathedral."

LISTS, 1987-2003

Top: *Shingling the south roof–part of the ongoing task of preserving the Cathedral.* Below: *Clear glass installed over the windows allows one to see the pattern of the lead from outside.*

Bishops

1978-1993	The Rt. Rev. Robert M. Anderson
1993-	The Rt. Rev. James L. Jelinek
Assisting	The Rt. Rev. Daniel L. Swenson

Deans of the Cathedral

1979-1991	The Very Rev. Thomas E. Winkler
1993-1996	The Very Rev. James L. Snell
2001-	The Very Rev. James C. Zotalis

Provost of the Cathedral

1997-2001	The Ven. Benjamin I. Scott

Interim Clergy

1992	The Rev. Barbara Dumke
1992-1993	The Rev. Rosalie Hall
1997	The Rev. Edwin Eilertsen

Assisting Clergy

1979-1992	The Rev. Donald S. Wafler, Deacon
1990-1994	The Rev. Paul Onkka, Deacon
1990	The Rev. Marcia Onkka, Deacon
1995-1998	The Rev. Audrey Knutson, Deacon
1997-1998	The Rev. Carolyn Schmidt, Associate
1999-2001	The Rev. Jim Young, Associate (Priest-in-Charge, Summer 2001)
1998-2001	The Rev. Bob Gunkle, Deacon
1998-	The Rev. Bonnie Holt, Deacon
2001-	The Rev. Jill Tollefson, Deacon

Canons of the Cathedral

The Rev. Donald S. Wafler, Deacon
The Very Rev. James Snell
The Ven. Benjamin I. Scott
Sally Welch Scott

Wardens of the Cathedral Chapter

Sr. Warden	Jr. Warden	Sr. Warden	Jr. Warden
1987 Paul Onkka	John Andrews	1996 Tom Truax	Bonnie McDonough
1988 Paul Onkka	John Andrews	1997 Tom Truax	Pat Folsom; Bonnie St. James
1989 John Andrews	Emily Nesvold		
1990 Emily Nesvold	Charlie Champlin	1998 Chris Koutavas	Jan Batchelder
1991 Emily Nesvold	Charlie Champlin	1999 Chris Koutavas	Jan Batchelder
1992 Emily Nesvold	Charlie Champlin	2000 Jan Batchelder	Bob Neslund
1993 Emily Nesvold	Charlie Champlin	2001 Jan Batchelder	Bob Neslund
1994 Charlie Champlin	Tom Truax	2002 Bob Neslund	Jim Ebert
1995 Charlie Champlin	Tom Truax	2003 Bob Neslund	Carol McKitrick

Top: *"Throw" designed for the centennial of the death of Bishop Whipple in 2001. Shown are (clockwise from bottom left) the Cathedral, a little "Whipple Gothic" church, Seabury Divinity School, and Shattuck-St. Mary's School. Beneath the cross, broken tomahawk and peace pipe are the words "National Advocate for Native Americans."*
Bottom left: *The processional cross.* Bottom right: *Detail of the window which Indian children gave as a memorial to other "lambs" killed in the Dakota Conflict of 1862. They picked and sold berries to raise the $125 it cost.*

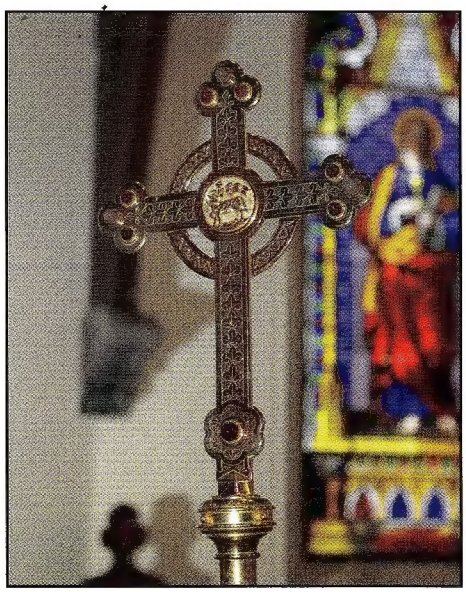
Presidents of the Guild of the Good Shepherd

1987	Chris Koutavas	1993	Isabel Beckley	1998	Carol Greeney
1988	Chris Koutavas	1994	Donna Bremer & Chris Rodewald	1999	Donna Bremer
1989	Chris Koutavas			2000	Donna Bremer
1990	Isabel Beckley	1995	Donna Bremer	2001	Donna Bremer
1991	Isabel Beckley	1996	Donna Bremer & Carol Greeney	2002	Donna Bremer
1992	Isabel Beckley			2003	Chris Rodewald
		1997	Carol Greeney		

The Cathedral Chapter, 2003

The Rt. Rev. James L. Jelinek, *VIII Bishop of Minnesota*
The Very Rev. James C. Zotalis, *Dean*
Bob Neslund, *Senior Warden*
Carol McKitrick, *Junior Warden*
Lloyd Knoploh, *Treasurer*

Helen Truax
Carol Greeney
Don Roosmalen
Judy Clarine
Sherry Forcelle
Gene Freeman
Chris Ries
Janet Blaisdell



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